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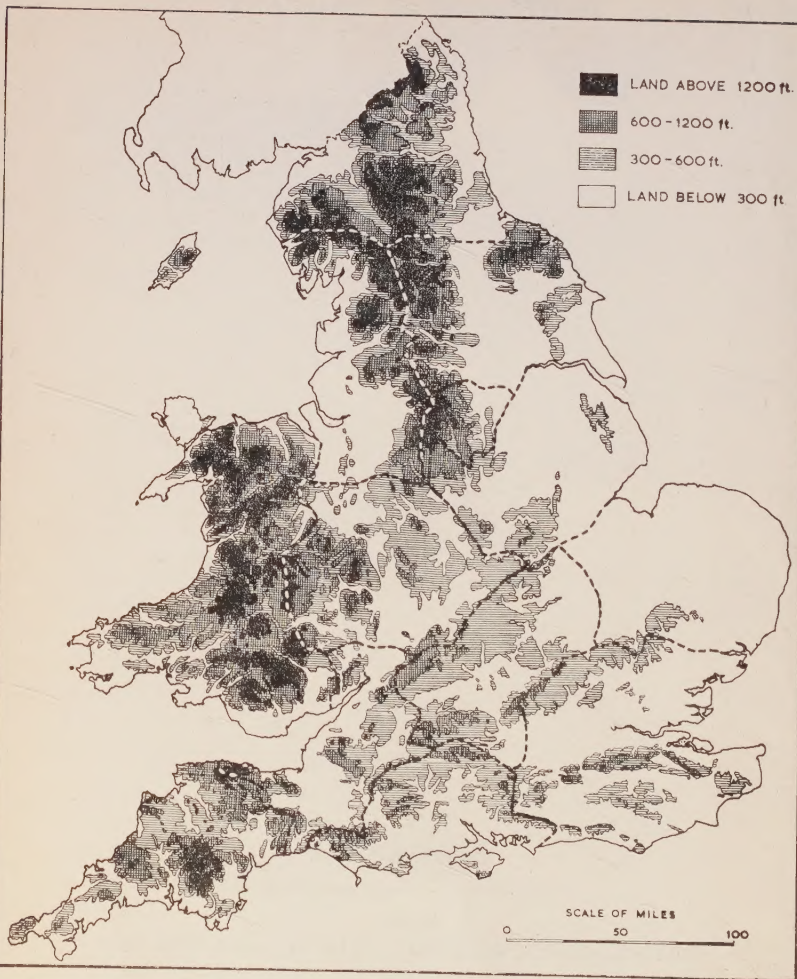


FIG. 1. The provinces suggested in 1919 in relation to the relief of the land

PROVINCES OF ENGLAND

*A Study of some Geographical
Aspects of Devolution*

C. B. FAWCETT

Late Professor of Geography in the University of London

Revised with a new Preface by
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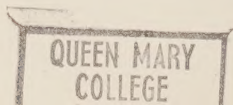
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CONTENTS

<i>Author's Foreword, 1919</i>	11
<i>Editors' Preface</i>	13
<i>Author's Preface to the 1919 edition</i>	19
1 Introduction	23
2 Existing local government divisions	33
3 The distribution of the population over the land	52
4 Principles of the division	62
5 The provincial capitals	71
6 Province of North England	80
7 Province of Lancashire	89
8 Province of Peakdon	95
9 Province of Yorkshire	102
10 The West Midland (or Severn) Province	106
11 The East Midland (or Trent) Province	112
12 Province of Devon	116
13 Province of Wessex	119
14 The Bristol Province	127
15 Province of East Anglia	132

CONTENTS

16	The London Province	138
17	Central England	141
18	The Anglo-Welsh Boundary	145
19	Unity of the provinces	150
20	The provinces as educational areas	155
21	Relation of the provinces to other principal divisions	160
22	Conclusion	169
	<i>Appendix: Population and area of each province</i>	173
	(a) Areas and populations of the provinces as delimited in 1942	175
	(b) Areas and populations of the provinces as delimited in 1919	176
	(c) Population of each province, as obtained from the counties, in 1911 and 1951	177
	(d) Population of the counties in 1911 and 1951 as allotted to the provinces	181
	<i>Index</i>	187

ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig.

1	The provinces suggested in 1919 in relation to the relief of the land	<i>frontispiece</i>
2	The Standard Regions of England and Wales as delimited in 1946	<i>page 39</i>
3	Distribution of the county boroughs of England and Wales in 1951	45
4	Chief lines of railway in relation to the provinces suggested in 1942	46
5	Some formerly intricate county boundaries	48
6	Densities of population in A.D. 1700 (England only)	55
7	Distribution of population in England and Wales in 1931	<i>between pages 56 and 57</i>
8	The Ancient Counties of the English Midlands as organized around valley towns	59
9	Distribution of monoglot English in Wales and Monmouthshire in 1951	147
10	Distribution of universities and university colleges in relation to the provinces as delimited in 1942	157
11	Relation of the provinces as defined in 1919 to the counties	162
12	Relation of the provinces as defined in 1942 to the counties	163
13	Comparative diagram of areas, populations, and densities of population of the provinces as delimited in 1942	174

AUTHOR'S FOREWORD, 1919

To the best of my knowledge and belief, the facts set out in this book are correct. The opinions expressed in these pages are, however, purely my own and may not therefore be shared by all who may read this volume. To these I would only say that it would be a dull world indeed if we all thought alike on every subject.

only be accomplished by a systematic application of geographical science to the existing conditions.' It was more than clear when he wrote that the administrative structure of the United Kingdom was ready for overhaul, so inadequate was it for its manifold tasks. The 'Irish Question' was still unsolved and here at least changes have come accordant, in some degree, to Fawcett's views. The idea of 'Home Rule all Round', too, had then its sponsors. The application of this idea could have transformed the United Kingdom from a unitary state to a federal state, and it is noteworthy that Fawcett repudiates this objective, emphasizing that for him the problem was essentially one of devolution, not of federation.¹ For him, therefore, the solution of our main governmental problem lay in dividing the country into provinces to which administrative powers could be devolved by Parliament, and the provinces which he proposed would then be administered (as one critic put it) by 'glorified county councils'. He was careful to disclaim that he had found either the precise number of provinces for England or their precise limits. While he did not concern himself with Scotland and Ireland, he clearly envisaged each of them as broadly comparable in demographic weight with his English provinces and, although his study is restricted to England, this inevitably involved consideration of the Welsh borderland, beyond which Wales clearly claimed provincial status.

Fawcett first outlined the thesis developed in this book in a lecture delivered to the Royal Geographical Society entitled 'Natural Divisions of England',² a title which he defended on the ground that 'the human geography of any given area is as "natural" as the physical'. The lively discussion which followed this lecture, to which Sir Thomas Holdich, Dr. J. F. Unstead and Dr. H. R. Mill among others con-

¹ Although Fawcett appears to reject federation outright (see p. 28 below), nevertheless it was to some form of federal organization that he looked as a solution of the governmental problems of the British Isles. The terms 'federation' and 'federal' are capable of a wide range of interpretation and Fawcett used them freely in this book. It is clear however that he had in mind the devolution of specific powers to provincial parliaments and a federal parliament which retained overriding and residual powers. The Canadian Confederation presented a rough model; the Australian Commonwealth and the United States federation clearly did not. On the variety of federal states, see Sir John A. R. Marriott, *The Mechanism of the Modern State*, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, II, (1927), Ch. XXXVIII.

² *The Geographical Journal*, XLIX (1917), pp. 124-41

tributed, led Fawcett to modify some of the views which he later presented in *Provinces of England*. In his fear that the London Region, because of its population numbers, might dominate a federal parliament, Fawcett proposed in his first exposition and accompanying map¹ a narrowly circumscribed London Province and, beyond this, another called South-east England, lying mainly south of the crest of the North Downs, for which, however, he could not suggest a suitable capital, Brighton being its largest town but London its natural focus. In his book, in contrast, this province disappears to the enlargement of London Province which is extended also in the north-east at the expense of East Anglia. So also it would appear that Fawcett was convinced by the arguments of Mr. A. R. Hinks that Norwich rather than Cambridge was the more fitting capital for his East Anglian Province. One other notable change between the provinces as he first outlined them and those presented in his book—a change which cannot be related to the discussion after his lecture—was the addition of Peakdon Province, formed from neighbouring parts of the Yorkshire and Trent Provinces, of which Sheffield was the capital.

Although his colleagues knew that Fawcett contemplated in his later years a thorough revision of his book, he did not do this, but in 1942, in an unfortunately brief context,² he published a revised map of provinces to which we refer again below.

In editing this book for republication after an interval of forty years we have been moved by the thought that it develops a theme which is still of topical interest among planners and administrators, and provides also an original essay in regional geography which has been for too long unavailable to students. We have tried to edit this book unobtrusively by rewriting only those sections which can no longer stand in the light of changing events and new knowledge, by only modest textual elimination, and by the addition of relevant new material. We have redrawn and included most of the diagrams that appeared in the first edition, but have added others, namely Figures 2, 3, 7 and 9. Above all, by drawing on the 1951 census, we have revised the statistical material, originally based on that of 1911. That

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 160

² Broadsheet No. 9 'Regional Boundaries of England and Wales', Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction, November 1942

Fawcett modified in 1942 his 1919 map of provinces raised a difficulty which has been met by presenting to the reader his two patterns. Lastly, the Tables of areas and of populations, given in the Appendix, now take account of both sets of provinces; they permit comparison, too, between the 1911 and 1951 populations of the provinces marked out in 1919.

We do not wish to try to assess here the validity of Fawcett's plea for administrative devolution to provincial organizations. His proposal clearly involved political implications and problems which he had not 'thought through' and which, moreover, lying marginally to geography, raised issues for many others to discuss and to resolve. It is evident that his suggestions in 1942 for delimiting a new Anglo-Welsh boundary (see Fig. 9) could find no favour among the Welsh. It may fairly be claimed that *Provinces of England*, together with Fawcett's many other contributions in this field, has stimulated investigation into basic problems of our social and administrative geography.¹ It is evident that, if provinces are wanted in any reconstruction of our administrative system, they may be variously delimited by geographers and others, and that the same provinces are unlikely to prove equally convenient functional units for all the many purposes for which they could be created. On the other hand, the various schemes which have been proposed² agree in two important respects: the provinces are in the main groups of counties and usually number about a dozen. That they

¹ Among the many studies in this field may be noted: R. E. Dickinson, *City, Region and Regionalism*, London, 1947; G. D. H. Cole, 'The Future of Local Government', *Political Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (1941), and *Local and Regional Government*, London, 1947; V. D. Lipman, *Local Government Areas, 1834-1945*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1949; A. E. Smailes, *The Geography of Towns*, Hutchinson, 1953; and T. W. Freeman, *The Conurbations of Great Britain*, Manchester University Press, 1959. In addition, there are co-operative studies of major regions such as *Conurbation: A Survey of Birmingham and the Black Country*, West Midland Group, 1948. It is of interest, too, that the Conurbation volume of the 1951 Census of England and Wales pays tribute to Fawcett's studies of these phenomena which he regarded, above all, as physical entities of bricks and mortar.

² See, for example, 'A Discussion of the Geographical Aspects of Regional Planning', *The Geographical Journal*, XCIX (1942), pp. 61-80, and E. W. Gilbert, 'The Boundaries of Local Government Areas', *Ibid*, CXI (1948), pp. 172-206, and 'Geography and Regionalism', Ch. XV of *Geography in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Griffith Taylor, London, 3rd edition enlarged, 1957.

preserve county units is a recommendation if only because county loyalty is still very much alive.¹

The problem of the administrative reorganization of England persists and has inevitably both a geographical and a political aspect. We are mindful of current trends towards increased administrative centralization as also of the failure of one interesting experiment—that of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government to maintain its planning regions. The recent report of the Royal Commission on Local Government in Greater London, 1957–60,² now focuses attention on the twin problems of the administrative-territorial structure of and the division of functions within, the metropolis, whose influence extends, and will clearly continue to extend, beyond the limits of its built-up area into other parts of the London Province as delimited in this book. We recall a view of Mr. (later Sir Halford) Mackinder³ expressed in 1919, when *Provinces of England* first appeared, that the organization of a nation state should be based dominantly on the local communities which it comprised, and not on nation-wide 'interests'. Our House of Commons, he reminded us, was originally a House of Communities—those of the shires and burghs—represented by knights and burgesses. The stable and peaceful government of a free nation should rest on local communities, each having as balanced and complete a life of its own as is compatible with that of the whole nation.

W. G. E.

S. W. W.

University of London
March 1961

¹ See, for example, Dorothy Sylvester, 'Counties in Danger', *The Listener*, July 2, 1959, and the comment of Lord Morrison of Lambeth (*The Times*, July 6, 1960): 'Counties are historic parts of Britain and tradition cannot wisely be roughly set aside.' The proposals of the Local Government Commission in 1945, and again in 1960, for a drastic reshaping or regrouping of the administrative counties of England clearly aroused vigorous reactions in counties threatened with division or absorption.

² H.M.S.O., Cmd. 1164, 2 vols., 1960.

³ *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, London, 1919. Pelican Books, 1944 pp. 135–6.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO THE 1919 EDITION

This book may be regarded as an essay in the application of geography to a particular political problem, that of the delimitation of Provinces of England.

The suggestion for a division of England into a number of provinces, each of which should be comparable in resources and population to the other countries of the British Isles, was first brought to my notice some ten years ago by a reference to 'Home Rule all Round' in reports of a speech delivered by a prominent politician. Except for a vague mention of Yorkshire and Lancashire, that speech gave no indication of what provinces, if any, the speaker had in mind.

At intervals during these ten years I have made many attempts at marking out such provinces. The results of some of these were summarized in a paper on 'Natural Divisions of England', which I read at an Afternoon Meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on 9 November 1916. This paper, with a summary of the discussion on it, was published in *The Geographical Journal* for February 1917, vol. xlix, pp. 124-41. The present volume may be regarded as in some respects an amplification and revision of that paper, though the provinces here sketched out differ in some important points from the divisions indicated there. It owes much to the suggestions and criticisms made in the course of the discussion. The paper was again discussed at a meeting of the Regional Association held at Newbury in the Easter Vacation of 1917, and from that discussion also I obtained some valuable suggestions.

The book may be divided into three fairly distinct sections. The first five chapters are devoted to a study and criticism of the existing political divisions of England, and a statement and discussion of the principles on which the delimitation of the provinces here suggested is based. Each of the next twelve chapters (6 to 17) is devoted to one of these provinces and gives a brief account of its extent and boundaries

and of the factors which make it, more or less distinctly, a unit area. The remainder (Chapters 18 to 22) deals with more general considerations, some of which could not be conveniently discussed until after the limits of the provinces had been indicated. Some detailed figures as to the areas and population of the provinces, and suggested railway connections,¹ are given in Appendices. This plan has involved some repetition; though that has been avoided as far as possible. The order of treatment of the several provinces was determined chiefly by convenience: the more distinct natural units, i.e. those which are most clearly marked off by natural features and population distributions, have been considered first and the less definite ones later. The first one dealt with, 'North England', is discussed at greater length than any of the others mainly because it is taken first, and therefore several matters discussed in reference to it need not be dealt with again—partly, perhaps, because the writer is himself a Northcountryman.

The boundaries between the several provinces have been described in some detail in order to make the work definite. These descriptions have been based on the sheets of the Two Miles to One Inch Ordnance Survey Map of England and Wales, latest edition; and the detail can only be followed on maps of the same, or a larger, scale. Much of this detail will be of direct interest only to those who are already interested in the locality concerned or who wish to follow the boundaries suggested. The small-scale diagrams here given can only show the general trend of the boundaries. For the location and spelling of the place-names used the map quoted above has been the authority. Where a boundary is described as between two places, the one first named is inside, and the other outside, the province under discussion. It is probably unnecessary to state that any detailed demarcation will be a matter for duly authorized Commissioners when a division into provinces is made.

This delimitation gives twelve Provinces of England; but the precise number is purely accidental. I did not aim at dividing the country into ten or twelve, or any particular number of provinces. The actual delimitation reached is a result of applying the principles stated in Chapter 4 to the existing geographical conditions. Similarly there has been no attempt to obtain equality among the different provinces in any

¹ The Appendix on suggested railway connections, none of which has been acted upon, has been omitted from this edition. (Editors' note.)

respect; and no boundary lines have been adjusted in order to add to, or subtract from, the population or area of any province.

The chief sources of information used in preparing this book have been the maps of the Ordnance Survey and the Reports on the Censuses of England and Wales, especially those on the last census, that of 1911. I have obtained additional information on many details from Dr. Bartholomew's Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles. The figures for countries other than England and Wales which are used in some comparisons are taken from *The Statesman's Year Book*, edition of 1918. I have also been indebted in many ways to Mr. Mackinder's masterly work on *Britain and the British Seas*.¹

Finally, I wish to acknowledge here my great indebtedness to the many people who have, in various places and circumstances, given me personal information about local conditions and popular sympathies in different parts of the country, especially in areas near to these suggested boundaries. Their answers to the many questions I have put, often to strangers in a railway carriage or at casual meetings of many kinds, have always been courteous and very often helpful. But in no case has any specific statement been made on such an authority unless I have been able to confirm it otherwise. I also wish to express my thanks to Colonel Sir Charles F. Close, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., Director-General of the Ordnance Survey, for permission to consult maps and books in the Library of the Ordnance Survey Office, facilities without which the preparation of this work would have been very much more arduous than it has actually been.

C. B. F.

¹ Since this book was written I have had the pleasure of reading Mr. Mackinder's *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, London, Constable, 1919, the seventh chapter of which contains some discussion of a possible federalization of the United Kingdom. He has there suggested the problem which is here formulated, and of which this book offers a tentative solution.

I

INTRODUCTION

IN THEIR attempts to explain and to account for the variegated human geography of the surface of the earth, geographers have long applied themselves to the task of dividing this into regions on the basis of announced criteria of several kinds. While this specifically geographical method designed to assist the search for truth and understanding may appear at times merely experimental or unpractical, it clearly has practical applications, notably to the task, here undertaken, of defining regions of everyday living rationally adapted to the needs and functions of present-day administration. Many suggestions have been made in recent decades for the devolution of some of the powers and duties of the Parliament of the United Kingdom to subordinate parliaments. During the first twenty years of this century the steady demand for Home Rule in Ireland, which grew into a revolutionary movement for its complete severance from Britain, provided the most striking illustration of the inadequacy of government centralized at Westminster, even though Ireland enjoyed in some measure a separate administration for its local government. Scotland has also in many respects a different administrative and legal system from that of England. As yet there is no such separate administration for Wales in the British government, although the precedent set earlier for Scotland of appointing a Minister of State for Scottish Affairs was followed for Wales in 1951.¹ Yet subject to this innovation and also that of creating a Council of Wales and Monmouthshire (in 1949) with the duty of advising the Minister, and thus the government, about Welsh affairs, it is still true that the educa-

¹ At the time of writing (November 1959), Mr. Henry Brooke holds the office of Minister for Welsh Affairs concurrently with that of Minister of Housing and Local Government. He was also Chairman of the Council for Wales until September 1959. It should be noted that the Minister for Welsh Affairs does not, like the Secretary of State for Scotland, hold a seat in the Cabinet.

tional and registration systems of that country, unlike those of Scotland, are controlled from London along with those of England. But the tendency towards the development of a Welsh administration, especially for educational matters, has grown only stronger with the years; and the co-operation of Welsh local authorities and the attempts to revive the Welsh language, have paved the way for the Welsh demand for Home Rule, akin to that which was long demanded by Irish Nationalists. This demand, as well as a similar one in Scotland, remains articulate.

The satisfaction of these several demands for 'Home Rule all round', it formerly appeared, would have involved the transformation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from a unified to a federal state. If such a change had been practicable and made merely by setting up four separate national parliaments—for England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales respectively—it would have led to many difficulties inherent in the fact that one of the four constituent countries had more than three-quarters of the total population of the union.¹ Under these conditions, the parliament of England would inevitably have been so powerful in the union as to have been co-ordinate with, rather than subordinate to, the British Parliament. The English and British parliaments would presumably both have sat at London, and probably there would have been rivalry between them and a strong tendency for the former to have dominated the federation. The predominance of England in Great Britain would have been still greater if Ireland as a whole had acquired 'Dominion' status. A corresponding state of affairs existed from 1871 until 1918 in the German Federal Empire, where the Prussian and the imperial German parliaments met in Berlin. Prussia had little less than two-thirds of the population,² and so was less overwhelmingly dominant

¹ Populations in 1911 and 1951, from *The Statesman's Year Book*:

			1911	1951
United Kingdom	..	..	45,535,249	50,369,797
England	..	..	33,649,571	41,147,938
Scotland	..	..	4,760,904	5,095,969
Wales ..	..	..	2,420,921	2,596,986
Ireland ..	..	..	4,390,219	—
Northern Ireland	..	..	—	1,370,921

² The figures from the Census of 1910 are: German Empire, 64,925,993; Prussia, 40,165,219. In the Federal German Republic, in contrast, of the ten components, the most populous—North Rhine-Westphalia—had (in 1956) 15 million inhabitants, equivalent to only 28 per cent of the total of 52·8 millions.

in the German Empire than England is in the United Kingdom, but none the less Prussia so effectively dominated the whole Empire that the other states had very little influence on its government and policy. And Prussian dominance was not materially lessened by the fact that many of the leading statesmen and thinkers of the Empire were natives of the minor states. In a federal state in which no one of the partners is dominant, as in Canada, Australia, and the United States of America, the smaller states have relatively much greater influence on the federal government and its policies. The advantage to the smaller constituents clearly lies in not having a too-predominant partner; and it is arguable that this is also much better for the federal state as a whole and all its citizens.

Actually the only fundamental changes in the political structure of the United Kingdom which have occurred since the first edition of this book involve only a modest degree of federal organization. The Government of Ireland Act of 1920 made possible separate parliaments for Southern and Northern Ireland. The Irish Free State emerged in 1921 consisting of twenty-six counties of Ireland and holding Dominion status within the Commonwealth until 1949 when, as the Republic of Ireland, it left the Commonwealth as an independent and sovereign state. Only Northern Ireland, comprising six parliamentary counties and the boroughs of Belfast and of Londonderry, thus remains within the United Kingdom. Its institutions consist of a Senate (mainly elected), a House of Commons, and a Cabinet responsible to Parliament. Many matters—notably defence, foreign affairs, and external trade—are reserved to the Crown and the United Kingdom Parliament in which Northern Ireland is represented by twelve members of the House of Commons and by elected peers. The devolution of administrative powers to Northern Ireland has thus given it something in the nature of a federal status. It is relevant to the discussion which follows to note also that within Northern Ireland many domestic matters, e.g. education and road maintenance, remain responsibilities divided between the counties and boroughs.

The powers and duties of the British Parliament have decreased since 1919, notably as a result of the movement of the former Dominions to independent statehood. Until after the end of World War I, the United Kingdom remained responsible for the defence and foreign affairs of the self-governing Dominions of Canada,

Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, as well as of India, and of the many more dependent territories of the Crown. The Statute of Westminster of 1923 gave legal recognition to the sovereign and independent status acquired by all the former Dominions, except Newfoundland,¹ while later changes have added to the Commonwealth, as independent states, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya, and Ghana. Even so, the powers and duties of the United Kingdom Parliament remain considerable and fall into three chief classes:

1. Those concerned with the politically dependent territories of the British Empire and with their relations to each other, especially in respect of foreign affairs and defence and the control of those which have not self-government. These may be spoken of as its imperial functions; and it might appear that they should be discharged by a representative body. While the achievement of independence by the former Dominions has relieved the United Kingdom Parliament of responsibilities, the United Kingdom, as senior member of the Commonwealth and as banker for the sterling area, retains co-ordinating functions for the Commonwealth as a whole.

2. Those concerned with the United Kingdom, including such matters as the administration of justice, the control of communications, and most of the legislation referring to education and to social, industrial, and commercial life. These are obviously the true functions of a parliament for the United Kingdom.

3. Those concerned essentially with local government, such as legislation for tramways, gas, and electric power undertakings, and the supervision of local governing bodies in their administrative work. This should be the work of provincial parliaments in Britain.²

This classification is necessarily a very rough one, and this is not the place in which to discuss it at any length. Hence we will note that

¹ Newfoundland became in 1949 a Province of the Canadian Confederation.

² This paragraph has been left as Fawcett wrote it. Actually the generation and transmission of electrical power have been organized since 1 January 1958 for England and Wales by the Central Electricity Generating Board. The reference to tramways, which recalls Fawcett's West Riding background, has little present relevance.

in very many cases it may be difficult to place a particular Act of Parliament into one class only.

In the British Commonwealth as a whole there were (in 1919) three ranks of parliaments, whose powers and functions corresponded in some degree to those of the classes just set out, in spite of a high degree of confusion and overlapping. Now that the parliaments of the other members of the Commonwealth rank equally with that of the United Kingdom, there are only two ranks, of which these occupy the first. In the second rank come the parliaments of Northern Ireland and those of the constituent provinces or states of federated states of the Commonwealth, namely India, Canada, Australia, Malaya, and the West Indies Federation.

All proposals for parliamentary devolution in Great Britain rest on one or both of two main grounds: first, the demands of the people of some parts of it for local autonomy; and second, the fact that the present British Parliament is, and has long been, so overburdened by its manifold duties that its business is necessarily congested and many of its Acts fail to receive sufficient consideration. Even though the task of governing the dependent territories of the British Empire has decreased with their advances towards self-government, or indeed independence, this remains a burden added to that of governing Great Britain. This involves the provision and control of the machinery of local government for forty-nine millions of people and, added to the burden of responsibilities for oversea colonies, proves too great for the time and energy of a single parliament. 'It has often been overburdened with a mass of parochial detail',¹ a mass which might also overburden a parliament of England. And the devolution proposals all agree in planning to establish several parliaments, of what we have here called the second rank, to provide for and control local government within their areas. That of Northern Ireland is one such parliament.

The considerations so far mentioned point to the conclusion that what is now required is a division of England into a group of provinces, or major local government areas. These should be comparable to the other divisions of the United Kingdom—Scotland, Northern Ireland,

¹ *The Times*, Leader of 25 April 1918. And in its second Leader of 21 January 1959, entitled 'Frivolity Time', *The Times* wrote: 'And so between 8.55 and 9.20 p.m. on December 19, 1957, the Mother of Parliaments became seized of an argument about the Byram-cum-Sutton bus shelter.' Byram-cum-Sutton, with 95 inhabitants, is in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

and Wales—in resources and population, and should have self-government of the same order as that of these divisions or of a province of Canada. If any such division of England is to be satisfactory, it must be based primarily on geographical considerations. Many other series of considerations are necessarily involved—historical, administrative, financial, and so on—but the basis of any such division into provinces must be the geography of the country. The results of the division of Revolutionary France into a series of purely artificial departments, designed to secure as much uniformity as possible, irrespective of any natural geographical relationships, and the modern revolt against that division in the regionalist movement in that country, offer a warning that should not go unheeded. Any attempt to secure an artificial uniformity of area or population in our provinces would inevitably give rise to corresponding evils. And the weakness of a division based entirely on party interests has also been shown by the rapid and complete disappearance of Cromwell's divisions of England. A strong local patriotism is essential to good provincial government under democratic conditions; and this can be developed only if the provinces are closely related to natural divisions of the country. Hence the question to which this book attempts to give a tentative answer may be stated as 'What are the Major Natural Political Divisions of England?'

The question will here be discussed in its geographical aspect only. This book is only incidentally concerned with any other aspects of the problems of division and devolution. Since we are considering divisions of one state for the sake of greater efficiency in its local government, it is clear that no strategic problems can arise in connection with any of the boundaries which may be suggested.¹ Also any such province can have only those powers and duties which the British Parliament delegates to it; and there is no necessary reason why each provincial parliament should have precisely the same functions. The problem is one of devolution, not of federation. It is comparable to the establishment of the prairie provinces of Canada rather than to the formation of the Australian Commonwealth. In many respects the distinctive nationality of Scots and Welshmen might be held to justify the delegation to their parliaments of some powers which are not desired by East Anglians or Lancashiremen; even though the differences between East Anglia

¹ Since Fawcett wrote this, we have, it is true, the Irish Border where, however, the interest relates to customs control not to strategy.

and Lancashire are in some ways greater than those between Wales and Scotland. The position of our suggested Province of Devon in reference to the railway system is so different from that of the Midland Provinces that its influence on that system within its bounds would probably be very different. But the railways, as a principal means of communication, are essentially a matter for the federal government. Free and abundant interchange of ideas and goods, and frequent direct intercourse of persons, among all its parts, are among the most powerful factors making for the unity of any state or nation. Hence it is a prime duty of the government which represents the whole to facilitate such intercourse as much as possible. This implies that the federal government should control posts and telegraphs, railways, roads, and waterways, and any other means of communication, either directly or indirectly, and employ its powers to facilitate all communications.

Our discussion of this problem of division into provinces is here limited to England; Scotland is not considered, while Wales is referred to only in so far as the principles applied to the delimitation of our suggested English provinces would affect the Anglo-Welsh boundary.

The essential assumption which underlies all the criticism and suggestion with regard to the areas and boundaries of our local government divisions in this volume is that such divisions exist only in order to facilitate good government. In a country which is occupied by a united nation, and is governed on democratic principles, that assumption is fundamental for all its internal divisions. Boundaries between separate sovereign states have often been drawn with reference to the strategic and tactical considerations of one party, to the control of important military and economic roadways, access to seaports or mining areas, and so on. No such considerations can enter into a discussion of these suggested Provinces of England.

The division must also be affected by the nature and extent of the powers and duties to be allotted to the provincial parliaments. Here the dominant fact is that these parliaments can have only such powers as may be conferred on them by the British Parliament, and no others. The British Parliament is supreme in the United Kingdom, and it can confer, or withhold, or withdraw, any such powers at its own discretion. And it is evidently not essential that each provincial parliament should possess exactly the same powers. There is no more reason to require

absolute uniformity in this respect than in relation to area or population. It is quite sufficient that the several provinces should be fairly comparable to each other.

The precedent set by the many Public Acts which have already been based on Private Acts obtained by a progressive local authority will probably be of great value in actually determining the powers and functions of provincial parliaments; since a provincial parliament could at any time ask the British Parliament to confer on it any additional powers which it desired. In England the first suggestion is that the functions of the provincial parliaments would be primarily administrative rather than legislative; though they would necessarily have much more power of initiative than any present local authorities. They should at once take over all the 'county' powers of local government, i.e. they would directly supersede and absorb the county councils. In most cases they would probably consist very largely of the persons who were formerly members of the councils of counties and cities: the first parliament in each province might well be to some extent an amalgamation of some few county and city councils. This control of 'county' powers should also extend over the county boroughs in each province. In this way the establishment of the provinces would do something to reverse the disastrous separation of town and country in local government which has grown up in this country, a separation which was largely due in the first instance to the different relations of the boroughs and manors to the feudal lords. All the lesser local authorities in each province, such as the councils of towns, of urban and rural districts, and of parishes, should derive their authority from and be directly subordinated to and under the control of, the provincial parliament, since that body is to be fully responsible for all local administration within its area. Indeed, the numbers and powers of these subordinate councils is a matter which should be left entirely to the provincial parliament; since the conditions affecting these matters differ considerably in the different provinces.

In many departments of local government, especially in regard to its provision for the future, we have been compelled to realize of late that the areas and powers allotted to many local authorities in this country are inadequate to the efficient performance of the duties laid on them. Hence many of them have been compelled to obtain special authority from Parliament by Private Acts and go outside their own

areas in making provision for the health of their people by sanatoria and cottage homes, for the supply of water or the disposal of sewage, the regulation of flooded streams, and so on. We covered the land with a needlessly large number of small, and therefore relatively costly and inefficient, electric generating stations and gasworks. And our planning for the betterment of our towns and villages and the improved housing and other accommodation of our people is hampered on every hand by obsolescent local boundaries. Our local government garb is inherited from the days of the small self-contained borough, jealous of its independence of the feudal lord, and the isolated village, which was under his control. It has been strained and torn in innumerable places by the growth and shifting of our population and the changes in our modes of life and association. And to meet these difficulties it has been darned and patched at frequent intervals, without any system or regularity. The problem of adjusting the local government divisions to the needs of the people has never been viewed as a whole; but until it is so considered there can be no hope of any real solution of it.

It is this consideration rather than any prospect of, or desire for, full provincial devolution in a parliamentary sense that makes the problem of provinces here discussed important and indeed topical. Full self-government for the areas indicated appears neither feasible nor desirable, nor has it found any echo in the constructive thought and speculation of recent years. Of much greater significance is the fact that what we have come to call Town and Country Planning has recently been and remains a live issue. The geographer is deeply preoccupied with 'regions' and their problems, but if they are to have any practical reality and importance as planning regions they must take cognizance, above all, of the facts of population distribution, and be, in the fullest sense, coherent areas of common living. The present Planning Authorities are the County Councils, but there is hardly any aspect of land use or of development plans which does not immediately involve areas beyond the county boundary. This difficulty is, of course, to some extent implicit in any system of division whatever. With the areas regrouped on the lines here indicated, there could be no guarantee that all problems and services would be neatly circumscribed by provincial boundaries. The Pennines, however we drew the line, would necessarily remain a water-gathering area for both the Yorkshire and Lancashire regions and the London Province would continue to draw

some of its land-consuming building materials from beyond its own boundaries.

Nevertheless a regrouping on the lines here suggested would have naturally simplified and could still serve to simplify the work of Town and Country Planning. The problems of such work quickly and inevitably impinge upon the system of local government.

EXISTING LOCAL GOVERNMENT DIVISIONS

PROBABLY few people, other than those who have given some time to the special study of the matter, have any realization of the extreme complexity of the areas into which England is now divided for the purposes of local government, the administration of justice, parliamentary representation, registration of births, deaths, and marriages, and inspection of various kinds. A summary table of these areas is given below. This is based in part on the Preliminary Report of the 1951 Census for England and Wales, Tables II and III, and The Official List for 1958 of the General Register Office. The numbers of the areas of each class at the date of the census of 1951 are here given for England alone, except for the judicial divisions, some of which overlap the Anglo-Welsh boundary. These various divisions are of three orders of importance, which are indicated in the table by the letters *a*, *b*, and *c*; the *a* divisions being directly related to the central government, *b* to the *a* divisions, and *c* to either *a* or *b*, or both.

A. *Local government areas (England)*

County Areas:

<i>a</i>	{	Administrative Counties	..	..	..	50
		County Boroughs	..	..	..	79

Administrative Counties outside London are subdivided into:

<i>b</i>	{	Non-county Boroughs (Municipal Boroughs)				278
		Urban Districts	..	..	..	498
		Rural Districts	..	..	..	417

Within the County of London:

<i>b</i>	{	Metropolitan Boroughs	..	..	..	28
		City of London	..	..	..	1

Urban Districts are sometimes divided into:

- c* Civil Parishes (generally an Urban District forms one Civil Parish, but sometimes it contains many).

Rural Districts are subdivided into:

- c* Wards

and also in some cases into:

- c* Civil Parishes.

The total number of Civil Parishes in Rural Districts alone is 10,281. The total number of Wards in Urban Districts and County Boroughs is 4,514.

B. *Judicial areas (England and Wales)*

<i>a</i>	{	Petty Sessional Divisions	..	..	..	396
		County Court Circuits	..	..	..	59

County Court Circuits are subdivided into:

<i>b</i>	County Court Districts	..	..	..	..	402
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Petty Sessional Divisions, the Courts of which deal with minor criminal cases, are made up of groups of Civil Parishes. So also are the County Court Districts. The County Court Circuits include from one to many 'court towns', the number of these being related to the differing areas and population densities of the Circuits.

C. *Registration areas (England)*¹

<i>a</i>	Registration Regions	..	..	..	..	9
<i>b</i>	Registration Districts	..	..	..	..	488
<i>c</i>	Registration Sub-Districts	..	..	..	..	1075

The Registration Regions conform exactly, in their numbering, naming, and areas with the so-called 'Standard Regions' discussed below (p. 38). The Registration Districts, of which the Regions are comprised, are made up of a Borough or part of a Borough, or of a Borough together with Urban and/or Rural Districts, or lastly, of Urban Districts, or Rural Districts, or both. In some cases Rural Districts are divided between adjacent Registration Districts for reasons of convenience, including local accessibility. The number of the Districts was much reduced following the Local Government

¹ Wales and Monmouth form an additional Registration Region which contains 51 Districts themselves comprising 132 Sub-Districts.

Act of 1929:¹ 275 Districts were abolished and their areas were absorbed into enlarged units. The 1,075 Registration Sub-Districts of England are so distributed as to facilitate the tasks of registration, while they are small enough for one enumerator to handle at times of census taking; further they fit into the jig-saw of local administration boundaries. There are now only three categories of Registration Areas instead of the four which obtained in 1911; the number of Districts has decreased from 587 to 488, and these changes doubtless reflect in part improvements in local transport.

D. *Parliamentary constituencies*

These are *ad hoc* divisions with no necessary relation to any of those already mentioned. Before 1918 they were based on the Ancient Counties (*see* below p. 42). They are now made up of the whole or parts or groupings of administrative areas: Counties, Boroughs, and Urban and Rural Districts. The Constituencies underwent considerable redistribution before the 1955 General Election as a result of the first general review by the Boundary Commissions, permanent bodies set up in 1949 to review constituencies and to recommend changes. In England eleven new Divisions were created and six were abolished, while 152 constituencies underwent major alterations and thirty minor ones.

Besides all these, there are many other classes of areas for various purposes, whose boundaries may or may not have any relation to some of those just referred to. Some of these are:

- Ecclesiastical Areas
- High Court Circuits
- Coroner's Court Districts
- Port Health Districts
- National Coal Board Divisions
- Central Electricity Generating Board's Areas
- British Railways' Regions
- Post Office Regions

¹ In 1911 England had 587 Registration Districts, each of which was divided into Sub-Districts. The Registration Districts were then generally identical with Poor Law Unions, although nine included a pair of Poor Law Unions.

Polling Districts
County Council Electoral Divisions
National Assistance Board's Areas
Ministry of Labour Employment Exchange Areas
River Board Areas
Regional Hospital Board's Areas
Milk Marketing Board's Regions¹
Forecast Districts of the Meteorological Office
British Broadcasting Corporation's Regions

The variety of terms used for the parts into which England and Wales are divided for the above and other purposes—areas, circuits, districts, regions, and divisions—is matched by the choice of names for the parts of the country which do not accord closely with the usage of British geographers. The list of divisions given above is by no means exhaustive: England is divided for water supply purposes, into customs' ports, inland revenue districts, and telephone areas. And in addition to the national divisions there are purely local areas, such as the Metropolitan Police District, as well as areas which fall under the control of such bodies as Docks and Harbour Boards.

In most cases the areas and boundaries of the different divisions of England are quite independent. There is, for example, no necessary relation between the Registration Regions and those of the Regional Hospital Board, although administrative areas are usually the bricks of which such units are built. Still less is there any necessary or regular relation between any local government divisions and judicial areas of any kind. While there is evidently no reason why precisely the same areas should prove equally satisfactory for a wide variety of purposes, it might seem that many services might be better administered within standardized regions which have significance in social geography. Since the distribution of population and available transport facilities are equally as relevant to the organization of hospital services as to that of registration services, the regions for these two (and many other) purposes might well be the same. Actually they show much concordance, yet differ in several respects. Indeed, it might appear that the division of the country is made by drawing lines on maps with insufficient regard

¹ For a map of these, see E. S. Simpson, 'Milk Production in England and Wales', *The Geographical Review*, New York, XLIX, (1959), p. 97.

to the land and life of which the map gives only a partial representation.

During the two world wars many divisions of the country were made. The major divisions were on a scale larger than that of the counties, which are still the largest local government areas and the largest planning units, and they are akin to that of our suggested provinces. Most of these divisions, among which the Civil Defence Regions 1939-45 may be recalled as typical, appear to be based on local government areas; but they continue the tradition of existing divisions in that each series is independent of all the others, and there is no indication that they have been delimited on any common principle. An atlas of these divisions would show a maze of divisions similar to those tabulated on pages 35-6.

An interesting departure was made in 1918 when the three Ministries of National Service, Labour, and Munitions agreed upon, and issued particulars of, a uniform grouping of areas for their purposes. This scheme divided England into seven principal administrative divisions, added Monmouthshire to Wales to make an eighth, and regarded Scotland as one complete division. In only three instances did it depart from a mere grouping of counties. These departures were in the allocation of the Cleveland District of Yorkshire to the Northern Division, and the Glossop and New Mills Districts of Derbyshire to the North-western Division, and in keeping the whole of the Metropolitan Police District in the London and South-eastern Division. In each of these departures from county boundaries it tends towards agreement with the considerations which are set out in this book, and here applied all over the country. Three of these principal administrative divisions coincide, as nearly as possible, in view of the fact that their limits are county boundaries, with three of our provinces. These are the Northern Division with our North England, the North-western Division with our Lancashire Province, and the West Midland Division with our Severn Province. This last division, which consists of the five West Midland counties of Hereford, Shropshire, Worcester, Warwick, and Stafford, and is focused on Birmingham, is one which has maintained its unity in several of the various groupings which were adopted during and since World War I. This fact is probably due to the real unity of the region, which results from its possession of one of the strongest of our regional capitals.

The aim of the delimitation of these divisions seems to have been mainly to obtain areas of approximately equal populations. The actual range of populations was (in 1918) from about nine millions in the London and South-eastern Division to about three millions in each of the Eastern and South-western Divisions, and two-and-a-half millions in each of the Northern and the Welsh Divisions. The divisions made may be convenient areas for administration by government departments centralized in London; but they are too artificial in character and pay too little regard to the grouping of population and the accessibility of all parts of each division from any central town in it to be satisfactory areas for any self-governing provinces. The Eastern District of the 1918 map could only be administered effectively from London, not from any town in it.

The Civil Defence Regions that were set up during the Second World War to meet the threat of invasion deserve notice here since they are clearly related in their areas and limits to those of 1918 just mentioned and, moreover, they are very similar to the 'Standard Regions' defined in 1946. There were twelve Civil Defence Regions, ten for England, one for Scotland, and one for Wales and Monmouth. Here again the West Midland region of five counties reappears (as in 1918), and the cautious departure is made from the grouping of whole counties by the inclusion of the High Peak area of Derbyshire in the North-western region. Greater London, defined as the Metropolitan Police District, became however a separate unit which thus involved the bisection of the neighbouring counties. But apart from these two cases, the boundaries of the regions followed those of administrative counties.

Of special interest are the Standard Regions of England and Wales¹ (Fig. 2) which mark an official attempt to co-ordinate the activities of government departments concerned and, in particular, to provide a common framework of large units for statistical purposes, including the census. These agree broadly with those adopted for Civil Defence during World War II but differ in some interesting respects. Standard Region I (Northern) joins Northumberland, Durham, and the North Riding with Cumberland and Westmorland; it thus reverts to the 1918 pattern and accords largely with the North England Province proposed

¹ See Census 1951 England and Wales, *Preliminary Report*, London, H.M.S.O., 1951, pp. xiv-xv and Appendix B, p. 51, for a brief explanation of the Standard Regions and for their population figures.



FIG. 2. The Standard Regions of England and Wales as delimited in 1946

in this book. As a result of this arrangement, Standard Region X (North-western), combining Lancashire, Cheshire, and a small part of Derbyshire, and focused on Manchester, is made smaller and more compact than the corresponding Civil Defence Region of 1939-47. Another notable difference is that London is now left as the centre for

Region V (London and South-eastern), so that Essex and Hertfordshire are divided between this region and the Eastern (IV), for which Cambridge is the centre. The considerable eastward extension of the South-western Region (VII), for which Bristol is the excentrically placed headquarters, and the elongated Southern Region (VI), centred on Reading, are the less satisfactory geographical units. The Standard Regions, with small exceptions, are merely blocks of counties and range in population numbers between 2.6 and 10.9 millions (*see* Table below). They are conceived by, and for, the central government as useful areas of large scale, but not as provinces which might become administratively superior to the counties and county boroughs which they include.

POPULATIONS OF THE STANDARD REGIONS IN 1951
(in millions)

Northern	3.140
East and West Ridings	4.096
North-western	6.445
North Midland	3.378
Midland	4.422
Eastern	3.096
London and South-eastern ..	10.902
Southern	2.648
South-western	3.021
Wales and Monmouth	2.597

In a similar way the 1951 census reports officially define for the first time six conurbations in England.¹ These six, listed below with their populations, are the most outstanding of a number of industrialized

¹ A whole volume is devoted to these conurbations and tribute is paid to Professor Fawcett's earlier studies of them: *Census 1951 England and Wales, Report on Greater London and Five Other Conurbations*, London, H.M.S.O., 1951. Chapter 1 explains and defines the conurbations, while successive chapters deal with each individually. The Appendix to this Report provides coloured maps, drawn by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, of each conurbation showing (i) its divisions and subdivisions by local government areas, and (ii) its distribution of population (persons per acre) and its functional patterns.

urban tracts which have engaged the attention of geographers and sociologists for some decades.¹

THE MAJOR CONURBATIONS OF ENGLAND

				Area (sq. miles)	Population (in millions)	
					1921	1951
Greater London	..	..		721.6	7.488	8.348
South-east Lancashire	..	..		379.5	2.361	2.421
West Midlands	..	..		268.7	1.773	2.237
West Yorkshire	..	..		480.9	1.613	1.692
Merseyside	..	..		148.4	1.263	1.382
Tyneside	..	..	..	90.1	0.816	0.835

As they are defined and mapped in the census report, the six conurbations consist of groupings of Boroughs, Urban Districts, and—exceptionally—of Rural Districts. Geographically they are of two types. The London conurbation marks the growth outwards of one large town at the expense of the surrounding area where small towns and villages dotted a once-rural countryside. The others, in contrast, are characterized by the growing together of a number of distinct urban nuclei with the effect again of largely covering the countryside with urban buildings and roads and by the large-scale elimination of fields and farms. While it is clearly of value to define these distinctive social and economic areas of relatively large scale and to compute their populations, they remain congeries of administrative areas, mainly Boroughs of different status, so that the problems and tasks, in so far as they are common to each conurbation, fall to a number of separately constituted local authorities. That they have much in common can hardly be in doubt, yet they are far from simple unitary social areas. The West Yorkshire conurbation, for example, notably lacks cohesion.²

¹ See Sir Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, London, Williams and Norgate, 1915 and new revised edition 1949, and the following contributions by C. B. Fawcett: 'British Conurbations in 1921', *Sociological Review*, April 1922; 'Distribution of the Urban Population in Great Britain, 1931', *The Geographical Journal*, February 1932, and 'Millionaire Cities', *Mélanges de Géographie*, 1936.

² E. W. Gilbert, 'The Boundaries of Local Government Areas', *The Geographical Journal*, CXI (1948), pp. 193–6. Fawcett noted that the West Riding conurbation lacked any one dominant city and lacked the tradition and realization of unity: *idem*, pp. 193–4. For a recent study, see T. W. Freeman, *The Conurbations of Great Britain*, Manchester University Press, 1959.

The tables given above suggest something of the confusion of our existing divisions; but they do not exhaust it, even for the major divisions.

The word 'county' has two meanings and had three before the disappearance of the Registration Counties. In its commonest modern application it means an Administrative County with its associated County Boroughs. This is the usual meaning of the word in the Census Reports, and in this book, except where the context shows that some other county is meant; and these are usually the areas shown on a map which purports to show the counties of England, although some such maps refer to the Ancient Counties. But there are still two principal kinds of counties: (a) 40¹ Ancient or Geographical Counties; and (b) 50 Administrative Counties, with 79 County Boroughs, so that there are no less than 129 Administrative County Divisions.

(a) The Ancient or Geographical or Historic or (before 1918) Parliamentary Counties are the oldest counties; but at the present they are not units for any purpose of local government. Yet it seems to be generally true that local patriotism, in so far as this feeling exists and is associated with the counties, bases itself on these older divisions, as in Yorkshire and Sussex; and this fact gives them considerable importance in any reorganization of our local government areas.

(b) The Administrative Counties were created by the Local Government Act of 1888, and now number fifty. Each is the area controlled by a County Council. The excess of ten over the number of the Ancient Counties is due to the fact that several of the Ancient Counties were divided—Yorkshire into the Administrative Counties of the East, North, and West Ridings; Lincolnshire into Lindsey, Kesteven, and Holland; Cambridgeshire into Cambridge and the Isle of Ely; Hampshire into Southampton and the Isle of Wight (after 1888); Northamptonshire into Northampton and the Soke of Peterborough; and Suffolk and Sussex into East and West Divisions; while the Administrative County of London was created from parts of the three Ancient Counties of Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent. Other differences between the Ancient and Administrative Counties are due to the facts (1) that the former do and the latter do not include the County Boroughs, (2) that an Urban District may be partly in two or more Ancient Counties, but can be in

¹ This figure includes Monmouthshire.

only one Administrative County. Hence the growth of an Urban District on the boundary of an Ancient County has in many places led to differences, e.g. Burton-on-Trent extended into the two Ancient Counties of Staffordshire and Derbyshire but became wholly associated with the Administrative County of Stafford; and Hinckley is in the Ancient Counties of Leicestershire and Warwickshire, but wholly in the Administrative County of Leicester. And (3) in many cases a Civil Parish or a Rural District was situated partly in two, sometimes even in three, Ancient Counties; but in 1894 it was enacted that 'the whole of each parish and, unless the County Council otherwise direct, the whole of each Rural District shall be within the same Administrative County'. The effect of this provision has been to make the great majority of the Administrative Counties differ in extent from the Ancient Counties on which they were originally based although there were still (in 1919) fourteen Rural Districts each of which extended into two Administrative Counties.

We may recall that there was formerly a third class of counties which were based on, but were very far from coinciding with, the Ancient Counties, namely the Registration Counties, of which there were (in 1911) forty-three in England, including Monmouth which was part of the Welsh Registration District. These counties disappeared after the Local Government Act of 1929 when, as noted above (p. 34), a system of Regions and Districts replaced the earlier system of Regions, Counties, and Districts. The old Registration Counties are interesting because they were aggregates of Poor Law Unions which had been formed in 1834, i.e. in pre-railway days.¹ These Unions had usually been formed on the principle of taking a market town as a centre and uniting to it the surrounding parishes whose inhabitants came to that market town, and thus without reference to the limits of the Ancient Counties. The application of this principle had the great advantage of producing fairly rational town-and-country areas, which were such that

¹ With the abolition of the Poor Law Unions in 1929 their functions were transferred to local government authorities—counties and county boroughs. Poor Law Unions, less their urban areas, had since 1872 long served as Rural Sanitary Districts for which they proved natural and convenient units. For a study of the geographical interest of the Poor Law Unions as rational areas of local administration, see Eileen M. Pierce, 'Town-country relations in England and Wales in the pre-railway age as revealed by the Poor Law Unions' (unpublished M.A. thesis of the University of London, 1957).

their central towns were in fact the foci of the Districts. They were by far the best of the local government divisions in this respect. Unfortunately, the boundaries of the pre-existing Ancient Counties bore no relation to such market areas; hence the Poor Law Union frequently extended into two, or sometimes more Ancient Counties. The whole of each Union was, however, in that Registration County which corresponded to the Ancient County in which its more populous part was situated.

The Registration Counties were aggregates of Poor Law Unions; and at the time of the erection of the Administrative Counties in 1888 the Poor Law system was already in bad repute. So the newer counties were based more directly on the Ancient Counties, which were then also the Parliamentary Counties. In the majority of cases the Administrative and Registration Counties of the same name differed considerably in extent: e.g. the Poor Law Union of Stamford included parts of no less than five Administrative Counties—Huntingdon, Kesteven, Northampton, Rutland, and the Soke of Peterborough—but it was wholly within the one Registration County of Lincoln, which did not correspond to any one of the five. Legislation has tended to increase the importance of the Administrative County and, with the transfer to the Councils of the Counties and Boroughs of the administration of the Poor Law in 1929, no further reason existed for the continuance of the Registration County as distinct from the Administrative County. Thus the change effected has destroyed the more rational area, albeit one which was conceived in days before motor and even before railway transport.

In its record of birthplaces the census of 1911 differed from the earlier censuses in recording these by modern counties, i.e. the Administrative Counties with their associated County Boroughs, instead of by Ancient Counties. This change is a further instance of the inconvenience of having different kinds of counties and of the tendency to concentrate on the Administrative County at the expense of the other. The same tendency was seen in the abandonment of the Ancient County as the area for division into Parliamentary Constituencies in the Representation of the People Act of 1918.

There are very numerous differences between the areas covered by the two kinds of counties. Only in three cases—Cornwall, Cumberland, and Rutland—was the Administrative County co-extensive with the

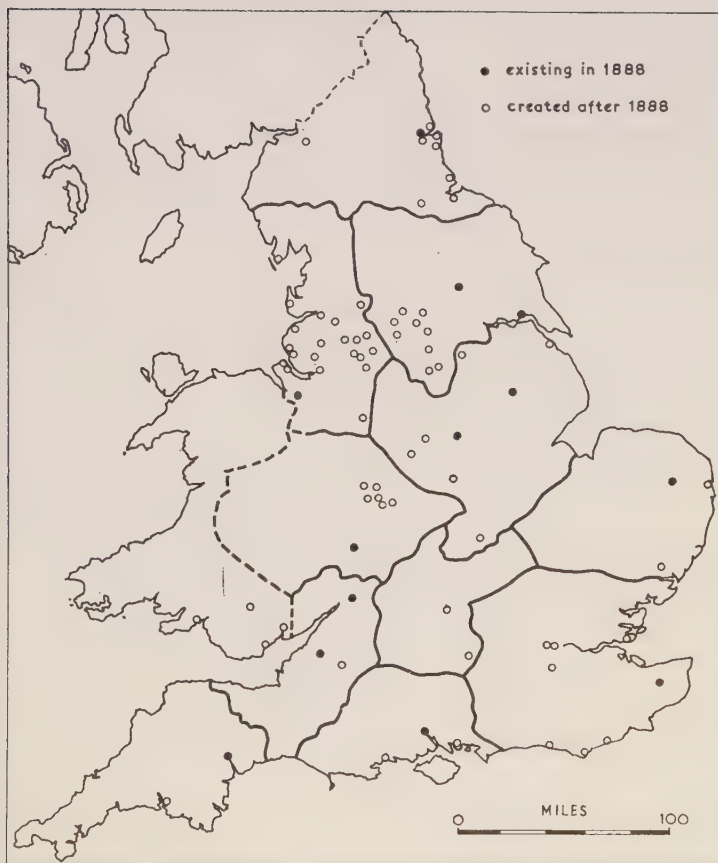


FIG. 3. Distribution of the county boroughs of England and Wales in 1951

Ancient County, as that was defined for parliamentary purposes from 1885 to 1918.

At the date of the census of 1951 there were seventy-nine County Boroughs in England (Fig. 3). These towns have the full status of Administrative Counties in all matters of local government, though they

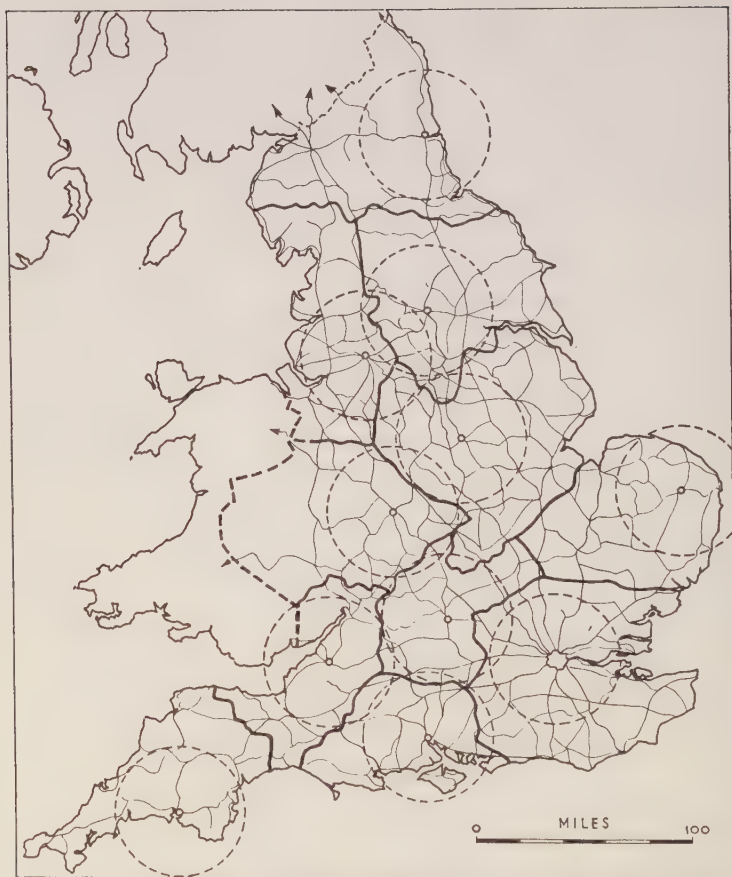


FIG. 4. Chief lines of railway in relation to the provinces suggested in 1942. The circles, centred on the provincial capitals, have a radius of thirty miles.

are associated with the Administrative Counties which surround them for some legal purposes. Thirteen of them were already corporate counties before the passing of the Local Government Act of 1888, i.e. they had their own sheriffs apart from those of the Ancient Counties; they were Bristol, Canterbury, Chester, Exeter, Gloucester, Kingston-

upon-Hull, Lincoln, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Norwich, Nottingham, Southampton, Worcester, and York. Forty-eight other towns, each of which had an estimated population of not less than fifty thousand at the date of the Act, received the status of County Borough by that Act. The rest of the seventy-nine have received it since 1926. Of the County Boroughs, the City of Birmingham includes parts of the three Ancient Counties of Warwickshire, Staffordshire, and Worcestershire, and a number each include parts of two such counties, for example, Bristol in Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, Burton-on-Trent in Staffordshire and Derbyshire, Oxford in Oxfordshire and Berkshire, Reading in Berkshire and Oxfordshire, Sheffield in Yorkshire and Derbyshire, Stockport in Cheshire and Lancashire, and Yarmouth in Norfolk and Suffolk. Three of these (Bristol, Stockport, and Yarmouth) are each deemed by the Local Government Act of 1888 to be situated in each of the two Administrative Counties corresponding to the Ancient Counties named above. The City of York is deemed to be situated in each of the Administrative Counties of the East, North, and West Ridings. The others are each associated with the Administrative County which corresponds to the first-named Ancient County above.

The facts which have been mentioned may serve to indicate the complexity of the present county divisions of England. The irregularity of their boundaries, some of which originated in the remote past,¹ caused considerable administrative difficulties until the 1930s. The most intricate boundaries were those of the shires of Warwick, Worcester, and Gloucester that were only remedied by an Act of 1931² (Fig. 5). This irregularity of boundaries is also suggested in Tables (c) and (d) of Appendix, pp. 177–86). A like wasteful complexity characterizes the rest of England's divisions. The unit of local government is the Township or Civil Parish, the direct successor of the Anglo-Saxon township. At the date of the 1911 census there were in England and Wales 14,614 Civil Parishes and 14,328 Ecclesiastical Parishes with 393 Extra-parochial Places. While it is difficult to make an exact comparison between these figures and those of the 1951 census, it is clear that the

¹ Some at least of these curious boundaries go back to the original formation of the counties in pre-Norman days. See Sir Charles Oman's 'Concerning some Gloucestershire Boundaries' in *Essays in History*, ed. H. W. C. Davis, Clarendon Press, 1927.

² See V. D. Lipman, *Local Government Areas 1834–1945*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1949, pp. 205–6.

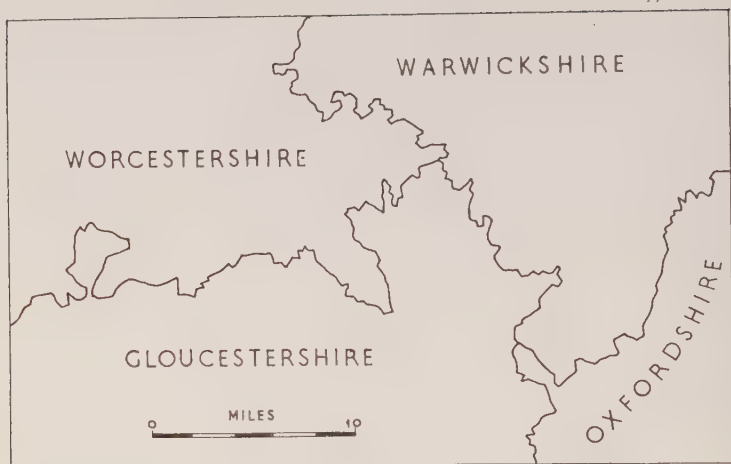


FIG. 5. Some formerly intricate county boundaries

position has little changed: there were then 10,281 Civil Parishes in Rural Districts, plus an unestimated number contained in County Boroughs and Urban Districts, while the Ecclesiastical Parishes numbered 14,269 and their Extra-parochial Places 331. The two kinds of parishes have existed side by side for centuries; and in many, probably

a great majority of cases, their areas were formerly identical; but in the modern system of local government, ecclesiastical and civil administration are quite separate, and hence there is no necessary relation between their respective unit areas.

The changes made in the boundaries of the civil parishes in the last century, especially since 1882, have been so numerous that now the civil and ecclesiastical parishes coincide in only a minority of cases. Many of these changes are due to the policy of amalgamating all the civil parishes of one urban district; as, for instance, the Civil Parish of Lincoln was formed in 1907 by the consolidation of all the nineteen civil parishes in the County Borough of Lincoln. Such an amalgamation makes the civil parish coextensive with the urban district and so simplifies the administration of each; it has been effected in many urban districts; but since it does not affect the ecclesiastical parishes in any way, it leads to greater divergences between the two kinds of parish. Conversely, in many rural areas an ecclesiastical parish may include parts of several civil parishes, e.g. the Ancient Ecclesiastical Parish of Romaldkirk included in 1919 the whole or parts of seven townships or civil parishes, namely, Cotherstone, Holwick, Hunderthwaite, Lartington, Lunedale, Mickleton, and Romaldkirk. By 1951 the number of parishes was reduced to four: Cotherstone, Hunderthwaite, Lartington, and Romaldkirk. But since the abolition of compulsory Church tithes in 1868, the Ancient Ecclesiastical Parish is not a unit for any civil purposes. It may be noted that Romaldkirk is in the Ancient County of Yorkshire and in the Administrative County of the North Riding.

Although the civil parish is the smallest unit area of local government, it is still in many cases very far from being a compact and continuous area. Since the Divided Parishes Act of 1882, very many detached parts of civil parishes have been annexed to bordering parishes—1,904 detached parts were thus eliminated during 1883–9 alone;¹ but in 1911 there were still 875 such detached parts in England. The Civil Parish of Crosby Ravensworth in Westmorland, for example, had no fewer than fourteen detached parts before boundary adjustments were made in the 1930s.

These complicated local government areas are by no means fixed. The parish and county boundaries were defined gradually in the centuries

¹ See V. D. Lipman, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–106.

between the Anglian and Saxon settlements and the time of Queen Elizabeth I, with frequent litigation in later stages. Many changes in their boundaries have been made since; and such changes are still very common. In the inter-census period 1901-11, for example, 348 civil parishes vanished by absorption in others, 70 new ones were created, and 332 more suffered changes of area; 29 urban districts vanished by being either dissolved or merged into others, and 44 new ones were created; in all 122 urban districts underwent changes in their boundaries. The boundaries of 17 Administrative Counties were altered; and, of course, the many changes in the boundaries of urban districts involved corresponding changes in those of rural districts. Indeed, changes in the boundaries of local government areas were so widespread in this period (1901-11) that only three Administrative Counties, Nottingham, Rutland, and Suffolk, were not affected. Boundary changes involving parishes, urban and rural districts, boroughs and counties have been made continually in more recent decades, either by Local Acts or, since the Local Government Act of 1933, under the County Review procedure or by similar mutual agreement between the counties concerned.¹ During the period 1929-38 206 urban districts were abolished and 49 created; 236 rural districts were abolished and 67 created, while of 256 municipal boroughs in England and Wales, 189 had alterations of boundary. Between 1929 and 1937 there were 58 boundary changes affecting 22 counties, while at all times some county and municipal boroughs have secured powers to extend their boundaries at the expense of districts of the administrative counties. The 1933 Act contained provisions for the union or division of administrative counties, as did also the Boundary Commissions Act of 1945,² but nothing further of this kind has been effected.

Evidently there is nothing sacrosanct in the boundaries of the administrative subdivisions of England; hence there is no reason for a refusal to consider any serious plan for their reorganization.

The great number of these changes points to a very general dissatisfaction with the existing local government divisions. The chief reason for the undoubted fact that our existing divisions are so un-

¹ See V. D. Lipman, *op. cit.*, Chapter V, for a full discussion.

² W. Robson, *The Development of Local Government*, London, Allen & Unwin, new edition revised, 1954, pp. 59-68. The Commissioners had no powers with regard to the County of London.

satisfactory is that they are not related in any systematic or rational way to the distribution of the people or to the natural features of the country. In this volume we propose to discuss only the major divisions; but most of the statements are true, in so far as they are relevant, for the minor divisions also.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION OVER THE LAND

THE present distribution of population in England has been taken as a principal guiding fact in the arrangement of these provinces. Hence it is well to try to consider how the distribution of the people has varied during the growth of the nation and state, and how far it is likely to be permanent in its main features. During the long period of prehistoric settlement, on which archaeologists have recently shed much light, people appear, for the most part, to have avoided the lowlands in favour of either the highlands above the present tree line or of the uplands of lower altitude, where the tree cover was relatively light and where shallow soils could be worked with simple implements. During the historical period two contrasting patterns of the distribution of the people over the land can be distinguished. The first of these expresses the preference for lowland, and in particular, for valley settlement; the second is the modern concentration of huge masses of people on the coal-fields and the industrial areas and in big towns since the Industrial Revolution.

'England', strictly speaking, begins only after the settlement in Romano-Celtic Britain of the Anglo-Saxons and Jutes, and for these colonists, as for the Celtic-speaking Belgae before them and for the Scandinavian intruders after them, the lowlands and their valleys clearly had a special attraction. The early settlements of Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians, in so far as they can be envisaged in the light of graveyard, place-name, and chronicle evidence, suggest that they were chosen by pioneering farming communities, able and willing, with the aid of the oxen-yoked plough-team, to cultivate parts of the lowland, despite their dense cover of trees and of undergrowth and their heavy soils. The lower, deep-soiled lowlands were of course potentially the more

productive lands—once the will and the means to develop them were available. Thus began the long process and heavy task of clearing the woodlands and of draining the marshes, and the preference (largely enforced) for upland settlement, much of which had persisted even in Roman Britain—yielded to the attractions of lowland living. The bulk of the population of England, as studies of the Domesday Survey of A.D. 1086, of Poll Tax records of the late fourteenth century, and even of estimates for the year 1700¹ show, was clearly established in the south-east, where lowlands, diversified only by scarplands, are best developed. This lowland and valley settlement has brought the overwhelming majority of the people and practically all the centres of population to the near neighbourhood of the rivers. The modern roads, and still more the railways, are usually in the valley bottoms and now the map shows the population in such close and constant relation to the streams that from it one might almost assume that man is an amphibious animal. Certainly the changing regional densities of population, which occurred during the long period of the attack on woodland and marsh, are in themselves sufficient to justify corresponding changes in the boundaries of major administrative divisions, many of which, especially in Southern England, date from the period before the woodlands were completely subdued.²

In recent years, however, there has been a distinct check to valleyward settlement, and there is now in progress a partial reversal of this movement, a tendency to move once more to higher ground; though there is no indication of any attempt to go above the tree-line. Modern developments in engineering, particularly in regard to water supply and means of communication, have made it possible to build houses on the higher and drier, and so healthier, sites above the valley bottoms, and yet have in them all the conveniences of civilized dwellings and be within easy reach of the work-places in the valleys. In England this has led to a marked tendency to the placing of garden suburbs and cities, such as Hampstead and Letchworth, on relatively high ground; it has taken many outer suburbs of London on to the heathlands and the

¹ See the generalized maps (Figs. 25, 30, and 83) in *An Historical Geography of England before 1800*, H. C. Darby (Editor), Cambridge University Press, 1936.

² The above paragraphs of this chapter have been written to accord with recent knowledge which does not however invalidate Fawcett's main argument.

lower slopes of the North Downs and the Chiltern Hills; it has made possible the growth of a large town on the sandy heaths above the cliffs of Bournemouth; it has taken many people of the Lancashire and Yorkshire industrial areas on to the lower slopes of the Pennines; and round every town it is taking the newer suburbs on to higher ground. The resulting check to valley settlement seemed to have become already noticeable in our census returns by 1901 and 1911, certainly by the latter year. This continuing process has not, however, affected the main centres of organization, the great cities, which are the nodes of our systems of communication. However much the residential districts of London may be moved to the heights in search of healthier and pleasanter surroundings, the Port of London, its warehouses and offices, and the roads, railways, and waterways which serve it, must remain in the bottom of the valley. The transport and collection of bulky and heavy goods will always be easier in the valleys than on the hills; and these facts will keep a very large proportion of our industrial and commercial work in the valleys. Also the existing towns are the nodes of our routes; they are going concerns possessed of an enormous momentum; and it seems most probable that the shift of population will be mainly a loosening out of the overcrowded masses round these centres and will not lead to any diminution of their importance. Certainly the efforts which have been made since the end of World War II to build twelve towns¹ in England including Monmouthshire do not invalidate this prediction. The new towns are designed to reduce the population numbers of our large towns or, failing that, to check their growth, but their ability to do this is small. The total population of the new towns reached only 363,400 in 1958 and should, it is proposed, increase to 561,000. Although eight of the new towns lie within a circle of thirty miles radius centred on the City, the growth of London's outer suburbs (i.e. around the County of London), particularly marked during the 1931-51 inter-census period, has not lessened, and appears unlikely to lessen, the importance of the city and the port. If this conclusion is correct, we may safely arrange our provinces with reference to the present distribution of the people.

The second great change in the distribution of population over

¹ The new towns are: Basildon, Bracknell, Crawley, Harlow, Hatfield, Hemel Hempstead, Stevenage, Welwyn, Corby, Cwmbran (Monmouthshire), Newton Aycliffe, and Peterlee.

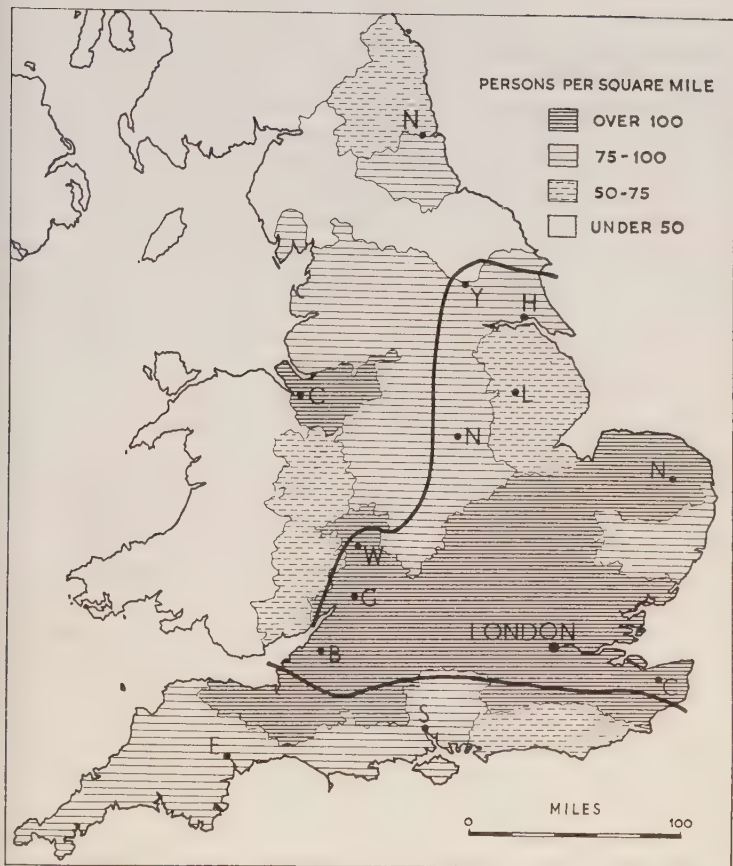


FIG. 6. Densities of population in A.D. 1700 (England only). London, and towns which were then counties corporate, are marked: cf. p. 46.

England has been the growth and concentration of large numbers of people in the industrial areas during the last two centuries. Before the Industrial Revolution the most populous and wealthy parts of the country were included in the area between the east coast and two lines stretching from it, the first along the Downs south of the Thames Valley and westward by the Mendips to the Bristol Channel, the second

south-westward from the Vale of York west of the Vale of Trent and the lower Severn to the Severn Estuary (*see* Fig. 6). Of the fourteen towns, including London, which were counties before 1888 (*see* p. 46), only four, Chester, Exeter, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Southampton, were outside this area; and of these the first three were bases on early frontiers and the fourth the principal port for traffic with Normandy and Aquitaine. The East Midlands, the Eastern Counties, and the Thames Valley were then the most populous sections of the country. Although the density of population in these districts has increased considerably since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, a glance at the modern population map (Fig. 7) is enough to show how completely the distribution of the populous areas has been altered by the growth of the industrial districts. The density of population in South Lancashire in 1951 was at least twenty times greater than it was about A.D. 1700, and probably ten times as great as that of the most densely peopled counties at that time. Although the Home Counties have grown considerably in population within the formerly most populous section, without London this area contains less than a fourth of the present population of England. The area to the north-west, which was formerly the poorest and least populous part of the country, now contains half of the total population, including the five cities which rank next to London in size—Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, and Leeds. Lancashire is now the most populous county in England, followed by the West Riding of Yorkshire. The next in order of population are the Counties of London, Middlesex, and Essex. The South Country and the South-western peninsula are still relatively thinly peopled, but they are now more comparable to the Eastern Counties than they were formerly.

The coal-fields of England occur chiefly in regions which were formerly among the poorest and least inhabited parts of the country. England was the first country to develop modern machine and factory industry; and thus many of its great industrial towns were established before the coming of the railway, some of them even before the turnpike roads and the canals. Hence these towns arose on, or very close to, the coal-fields, because it was impossible to carry the coal to the pre-existing towns. For instance, York was then by far the largest and wealthiest town in Yorkshire. Had it been possible to convey the coal of the West Riding to that city at a reasonable cost, its possession of

capital, of workers, and of established industries and connections, i.e. its industrial momentum, would have drawn the new industries to it and so enabled it to maintain and increase its lead in spite of the possible opposition of its guilds. But York is twenty miles from the nearest pits, and this was too great a distance for the then existing means of transporting so heavy and bulky a material as coal: the factories had to be erected close to the coal-mines, and York has been outgrown by several towns on the coal-field. Similarly, Chester, the medieval capital of the region of our Lancashire Province, was too far from either the South Lancashire or the North Wales coal-fields to share in the growth based on the early utilization of coal; and it has therefore fallen behind towns which were villages in its day of greatness. Owing to these conditions at their birth, the industrial towns of England are largely new towns, which belong entirely to the Industrial Age, and have inherited few of the civic traditions of the medieval boroughs. The chief exceptions among our large towns are Bristol, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Nottingham. It is doubtful whether the resulting loss has not been counterbalanced by the gain of freedom in development due to the absence of guild and corporate restrictions on the new forms of industry and association. Industrial England is for the most part a new country, newer than the New England beyond the Atlantic.

No such complete break between medieval and modern cities occurs in any other country, chiefly because most other industrial regions were developed after the coming of the railway and so tended to focus their industries on the existing cities which were within reach, rather than to create new centres of organization. This break with the centres of past life has been a very important fact in the development of English industrialism and the many social problems to which it has given rise. A minor result of it which concerns us here is the fact that in Industrial England the county town is seldom the chief centre of population for its county. Of the forty-one English towns which had more than 100,000 inhabitants in 1911 only five were capitals of Ancient Counties—Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Nottingham, Leicester, Derby, and Norwich. By 1951, when the number of towns of this scale reached sixty-six, there were only four more large county towns in the list—Reading, Northampton, Ipswich, and York, although Oxford very nearly reached this numerical level. These nine, together with Oxford, are the only county towns of the Ancient Counties which are also

important as industrial centres. So complete a change in the positions of the chief centres of population and influence is itself a sufficient reason for a corresponding change in our major local government divisions, which are still mainly based on the Ancient Counties.

All our Ancient Counties date back to the Middle Ages. Most of them appear to have reached some approximation to their present extent and form before Domesday Book was compiled (A.D. 1086). But it is sufficient here to note that they were all in existence in almost their present form by the middle of the eighteenth century. Hence they all grew up before the Industrial Revolution, in a period during which England was mainly a country of self-supporting agricultural communities, between which there was comparatively little intercourse.

The counties of the south and south-east are derived in some cases, e.g. Kent, Sussex, and Essex, from separate settlements and kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons and Jutes, in others from subdivisions, or shires, of the kingdoms of Wessex and East Anglia. But all the counties of this part of England agree in that they originated on relatively open or cleared ground between the barrier areas of forest and marsh which then cut up the country and separated the habitable areas from each other. Thus Sussex arose on the South Downs, bounded to the east by Romney Marsh, which cut it off from Kent, to the north by the forest of the Weald, which severed it from Kent and Surrey, and to the west by the marshes stretching inland from Hayling and Langstone Harbours, which separated it from Hampshire. Berkshire was established on the peninsular area of downland enclosed between the marsh and forest belts of the Upper Thames and Kennet valleys. And Somerset was separated from Wiltshire and Dorset by the Forest of Selwood. The frontiers between these divisions were natural and obvious at that period; but the progress of the valleyside settlement has since then completely changed the relation of the boundaries to the populous areas. The valleys of the Weald and the plain of South-west Sussex are now more densely peopled than the South Downs. Wiltshire is one of the oldest of English shires; its central area is the Chalk upland of Salisbury Plain, which, before the conquest of the forest, was a relatively populous district. Now the more populous parts of Wiltshire are its marginal lowlands to the north and west, in the valleys of the Upper Thames and the Bristol Avon, and the valleys about Salisbury in the south-east; and its central Chalk plateau is so thinly peopled that it

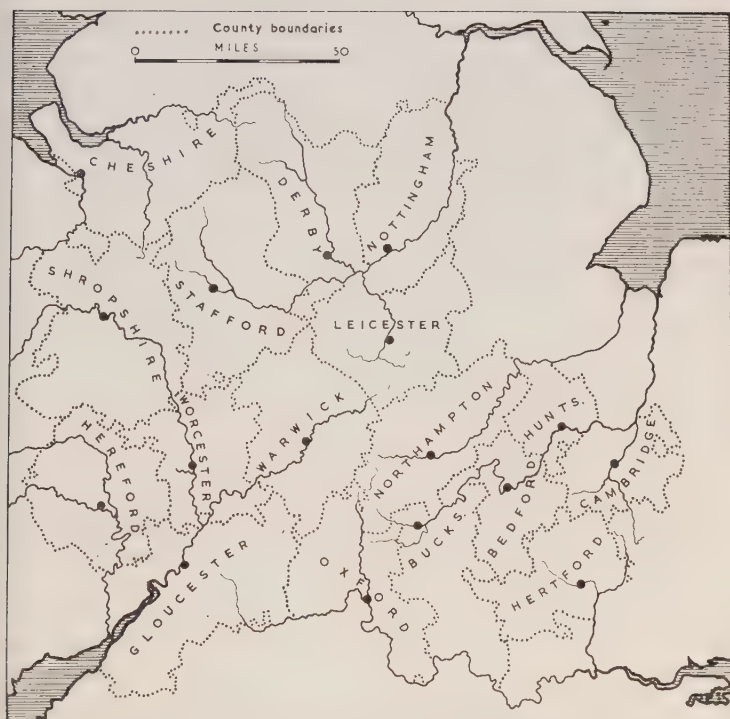


FIG. 8. The Ancient Counties of the English Midlands as organized around valley towns

now forms an area of separation between these more populous lowland areas at the margins of the ancient shire.

The Midland counties, from the Thames to the Humber and the Fenland to the Welsh border, were formed much later than those south of the Thames (Fig. 8). Most of them date from the conquest of Mercia from the Danes by the kings of Wessex in the ninth and tenth centuries. By this period the clearing of the woodlands in these districts seems at least to have begun. Also there were here much fewer and smaller areas of land, such as had formed the nuclei of the South Country shires. And in the Midlands the rivers are generally much larger and more navigable; they guided the Anglo-Saxon and Danish

settlements, and during and long after that period they formed the chief routes of the country. Hence the conquest proceeded by the valleys. At intervals in these valleys there was established a stronghold or 'borough', in which the king's officer, the sheriff, had his headquarters, and from which he controlled the surrounding districts. Hence arose three characteristic features of our Midland shires, namely:

1. Each is named from its county town.
2. Each consists primarily of a part of the valley of the river on which that town is situated.
3. They are of fairly uniform size; each including approximately the land within a day's march from the county town; though those in the south-east are generally smaller than those to the north-west.

The boundaries appear to have been determined slowly as the intervening areas were cleared and settled; and they are generally either near to the watersheds between the main streams or along smaller and less navigable streams flowing in valleys which were formerly stretches of marsh. In detail the county boundaries here are very irregular. Of these shires Warwickshire is primarily the valley of the Stratford Avon, and Gloucestershire and Worcestershire the lower and middle parts of the Severn Valley; Northamptonshire is the part of the Nene Valley above the Fenland, though the county has reached over the waterparting in many places; the shires of Buckingham, Bedford, Huntingdon, and Cambridge arose along the valley of the Great Ouse, and those of Stafford, Derby, and Nottingham along that of the Trent, while Leicestershire is the valley of the Soar and Hertfordshire that of the Lea. Rutland is of much later origin.

Medieval England, at least as an administrative unit, did not effectively incorporate Yorkshire and the North Country. These regions acknowledged the overlordship of the kings who ruled over the English Lowland but, like Wales and the Welsh Marches, they were too remote from the capital at London to be easily or directly controlled from there. Towards the end of the Middle Ages they were ruled by the Council of the North; and not until after the time of the Tudors and the Commonwealth do these remoter regions appear to have been really

integral parts of England. In the same way it might appear that Cornwall was too remote to form a part of England; it was rather an outlying dependency before the Age of Discovery. With the general advance in organization and communications at the Renaissance it became possible to incorporate these areas. Henry VIII divided Wales into counties and assimilated its administration to that of England in A.D. 1535. But the palatine bishopric of Durham did not come completely within the English local government system till the nineteenth century.

Since the reign of Henry VIII (1509-47) there have been no substantial alterations in the limits of the Ancient Counties, although by an Act of 1844 many of the detached parts of such counties were annexed to those counties by which they were surrounded. But in the Tudor Period the population of England and Wales was probably not more than four to five millions. It is now forty-four millions, or about ten times as great. At that period England was mainly an agricultural and pastoral country; now it is predominantly industrial and commercial. Then its mineral wealth was largely unknown and unimportant; now its minerals are among the chief material sources of its wealth. Before and during the Tudor Period the South-east of England was by far the more populous and wealthy part of the land: now the North-west has taken that position. Such a complete change in the distribution of the people, especially when it is associated with the more local changes due to the drainage and cultivation of many formerly marshy valley bottoms, is sufficient *a priori* evidence that the local government divisions of that period have now no satisfactory relation to the actual distribution of the people, and that a reorganization of our major local government areas is long overdue.

PRINCIPLES OF THE DIVISION

THE delimitation of such major local government divisions as the provinces here suggested should be made on some definite principles. Those which have been followed in this work are six in number. They are stated briefly below, approximately in the order of the importance here attached to them; and the statement is followed by some discussion of each of them.

1. The provincial boundaries should be so chosen as to interfere as little as possible with the ordinary movements and activities of the people.
2. There should be in each province a definite capital, which should be the real focus of its regional life. This implies further that the area and communications of the province should be such that the capital is easily accessible from every part of it.
3. The least of the provinces should contain a population sufficiently numerous to justify self-government.
4. No one province should be so populous as to be able to dominate the federation.
5. The provincial boundaries should be drawn near watersheds rather than across valleys, and very rarely along streams.
6. The grouping of areas must pay regard to local patriotism and to tradition.

Our first principle:

The provincial boundaries should be so chosen as to interfere as little as possible with the ordinary movements and activities of the people—

follows from the fact that a man's work-place and his residence should be in the same province. The division of interests which necessarily results when a man works in the area of one local authority and has his home in that of another is detrimental to the growth of any sane local patriotism. It ensures that his interest in local affairs and elections is divided, and often he takes practically no part in them. The apathy of the majority of the people, which is so great a handicap to London's local government, is probably due in great part to the confusion of local authorities in Greater London and the lack of any one authority for that vast urban area. Our boundaries should be so drawn that no suburban district is severed from its focal town; though in so small and crowded a country as England the complete logical application of this principle is impossible, for in some cases the outer or detached suburbs of different city areas overlap—London's detached suburbs extend to Bournemouth and Cromer, and those of Liverpool and Manchester along the coast from Llandudno to Blackpool and to the Lake District and the Pennines.

From this principle it follows that the boundaries should be so drawn that any area of continuously dense population should be kept as a whole in one province; and hence that the boundaries will in general be drawn along those more thinly peopled tracts of the country which do in fact form, relatively, areas of separation between the more populous districts. The population map is thus one of the chief guides in the delimitation of our provinces; and all the boundaries here suggested should be compared with a map showing, in as much detail as possible, the distribution of the people over the land.¹

The fact that the population is not spread evenly over the face of the country is one of the principal considerations in our delimitation of provinces. This fact alone renders it quite impossible to obtain satisfactory provinces with any artificial uniformity of population or area, such as have often been suggested by people who have not studied the actual distribution of the population.

Our second principle is:

¹ See the Ordnance Survey Population Density (1931) map of Great Britain, published in 1944, which distinguishes in colour on a scale of ten miles to one inch six categories of density: virtually uninhabited; sparse rural; dense rural; sub-urban and industrialized rural; urban; and dense urban.

There should be in each province a definite capital, which should be the real focus of its regional life. This implies further that the area and communications of the province should be such that the capital is easily accessible from every part of it.

This has led to the arrangement of two or three of the provinces round their capitals, and to some discussion of the capital for each. This particular principle bears so directly on the real unity of a province that it is, in our opinion, much more fundamental than any considerations as to the relative areas or importance of the provinces. The next chapter is devoted to a consideration of the provincial capitals.

On the map-diagram (p. 46), which illustrates the relation of the boundaries and capitals of these provinces to the railways of the country, there is drawn a circle of thirty miles radius round each provincial capital. In most cases a very large majority of the population of the province is within this circle. This distribution is referred to in detail in dealing with each province. These circles, together with the railways marked, give some indication as to the accessibility of the capital from various parts of the province. Any place within one of them should be within an hour's journey of the centre if on a railway, and within two hours from any position. All the provincial capitals are good road centres, and these distances will therefore give some indication of their accessibility from the various parts of the provinces by road. In some cases we have suggested certain obviously desirable extensions of the railway system to connect up outlying areas or link together separate lines.¹

The third principle underlying our delimitation of the provinces is:

The least of the provinces should contain a population sufficiently numerous to justify self-government.

This principle is self-evident. Without a sufficient minimum of population it is impossible that the province could include such a variety of minds and opinions as to make democratic self-government a reality. The actual figure taken as the basis in this discussion is one

¹ With the increase in motor transport such railway developments appear unlikely to be carried out.

million. This is a convenient round number which fits into English conditions; no special importance is claimed for it. In lands where population is spread more sparsely the minimum is necessarily lower, and the area over which it is spread greater, than in England. Here the million fits with the requirement that all parts of a province should be within a moderate distance of its capital, even in the more thinly peopled parts of the country.

It is of interest to compare with this figure the populations of some of the self-governing states of the Commonwealth and the United States. Six of the ten provinces of Canada and three of the six states of Australia have populations of less than one million each. New Zealand had already exceeded the million mark in 1911, and reached 2,200,000 in 1957. Newfoundland, including Labrador, with only 322,000 inhabitants in 1945, appeared in fact too weak to stand alone as an independent member of the Commonwealth and became a Canadian province. The Union of South Africa has a white population of three millions in its four provinces. In the United States no less than seventeen of the fifty states have populations of less than a million. And no canton of the Confederation of Switzerland has so large a population. The experience of all these indicates that our figure is sufficiently high.

The fourth principle set out is:

No one province should be so populous as to be able to dominate the federation.

This is one reason for advocating a division of England; since otherwise that country could, in a British Parliament, easily outvote the combined representatives of Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales. In most federal states there is no one dominant partner. But in the German Empire, from 1871 to 1918, one state, Prussia, had a decisive majority of the total population and wealth of the federation, and so was able to dominate it. This domination rested on the unity of Prussia; if this state had been so divided that, for instance, the Rhineland and Prussia Proper, Brandenburg, and Silesia had entered the federation as distinct members there would have been no likelihood of these divisions, and the other Prussian provinces, acting as a united body within the Empire.

The domination of a single state in a federation is not likely to be favourable to the best interests of the other members or of the federal state as a whole. Hence it is not desirable that England should remain a unit in the proposed federation of the United Kingdom or of Great Britain. Also, there are in England several distinct regions, each of which is sufficiently populous and distinct from the others to form an individual member of the federation, such as, for instance, East Anglia, the North Country, Lancashire and Cheshire, and the Devonian Peninsula. These are at least as distinct from each other in many respects as any one of them is from Wales or Scotland; and we believe that the best interests of the people would be served by giving each such region full provincial self-government, on the same footing as Scotland or Wales. There is no reason whatever to assume that the representatives of such provinces of England would act together in a federal parliament in the way in which members sent to one national parliament might tend to do.

The division of England here suggested gives us twelve provinces. When we compare the populations of these with those of other parts of the United Kingdom (*see* Table (b), p. 176 and Fig. 11, p. 162), we find that in order of population numbers Scotland and Wales would rank respectively third and eighth, and Northern Ireland fourteenth. The most populous province, London, would include about a fourth of the total population. Hence the division does secure a series of provinces which could form a federation satisfying the twin requirements that all the members shall be comparable to each other in resources and that no one of them shall be able to dominate the whole. A considerable range of population is both inevitable and desirable, so long as no one of them can outvote all the rest.

The fifth principle is:

The provisional boundaries should be drawn near watersheds rather than across valleys, and very rarely along streams.

Among the most vital of the matters in regard to which we need to organize the resources of the country on a large scale and over wider areas than those of any existing local authority are:

(a) Water supply for our towns and villages

(b) Drainage

(c) The provision and maintenance of roads.

The main lines of all these must normally and naturally be laid along the valleys; since there they meet with the easiest gradients and the minimum of natural obstacles. Hence also lines of travel and industrial and commercial establishments, factories, warehouses, offices, etc., are usually placed in the valleys. A valley is a natural unit area for most purposes of human organization, primarily because the higher ground which separates one valley from another is, to a greater or less extent, an obstacle to intercourse and less favourable to settlement and occupation. Our population is mainly in the valleys.

From this it follows that the boundaries should be drawn near the watersheds. This is of much greater importance in areas of considerable relief, where the valleys are sharply cut off from each other by high ridges, than it is on low plains. Over most of England the valleys are distinct; but the dales of the Pennines are much more strongly separated from each other than are the valleys of the Cotswold Hills or the Downs, and still more so than those of the Midlands; while in the Fenland we have a region so flat that the interstream ridges have practically disappeared, and the rivers, with their bordering strips of floodland, become the barriers. Thus the principle that boundaries should keep to the watersheds is of great importance in most parts of the country; but it ceases to be of much value in the low-lying plains about the head of the Humber and the Wash (cf. the population map p. 56).

In very many cases it is by no means easy to determine the exact line of a waterparting, even in a highland area. On the Pennines, it is often difficult to know exactly from what line the waters divide to flow eastward and westward, to the North and Irish Seas respectively. There are bogs from which water flows in both directions. Also the exact waterparting is often a very sinuous line. It is not desirable that the boundaries between administrative divisions should be unnecessarily complicated or tortuous; and the upper ends of small valleys are rarely of great importance in this respect. Hence the watershed should mark out only the general line of the boundary, and not necessarily govern it in small details.

Where the application of this principle would have led to delimitations contrary to those indicated by the principles stated above, it has been regarded as the less important one. The boundaries of our provinces cut across the valleys of the Trent and the Severn, because to draw them on the watersheds would involve cutting up the densely peopled areas of South and North Staffordshire; and it is more desirable to keep such continuous areas of dense population each in one province than to keep to watershed boundaries.

The last of our six principles is:

The grouping of areas must pay regard to local patriotism and to tradition.

Any provinces of England must necessarily supersede and absorb the counties. Hence county patriotism becomes a factor of great weight in the delimitation of the provinces. Most suggestions hitherto made for the division of the country into major local government areas for any purpose have been limited to grouping the existing counties in various ways. These have sometimes been accompanied by suggestions for some transfers of districts from one county to another, for instance, Ribblesdale from Yorkshire to Lancashire, in order to get rid of some of the worst of the existing boundaries. The writer made some scores of attempts at such arrangements of counties before coming to the conclusion that the only hope of an effective solution lies in abandoning all attempts to base the provincial boundaries on those of the counties, and starting afresh by applying the above principles to the existing state of distributions in England. The task of attaining a practical and satisfactory delimitation of provinces is a geographical one, and it can be accomplished only by a systematic application of geographical science to the existing conditions.

The provinces reached by the application of these principles to England do, however, generally consist of groups of counties. The relation of their boundaries to those of the counties will be referred to later (Chapter 21), after the provinces have been considered separately; but this fact simplifies the relation to county patriotism and gives ground for the hope that this may be merged into the wider patriotism of the province.

It is very difficult to make any estimate of the extent and strength

of local patriotism in any part of the country. But it does seem to be generally agreed that it is very much stronger in those counties which approximate to natural regions than it is elsewhere. Thus Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Devonshire are counties in which it is strong; while in Surrey, Hertfordshire, and Rutlandshire it appears to be far less important. In some cases the feeling may be associated with a wider region than the county. County patriotism is not prominent in Durham; and the inhabitants of that palatine county are apt to think and speak of themselves as Northcountrymen, and pride themselves on that fact, rather than as Men of Durham: their local patriotism is for the North Country rather than for the county. It seems possible that the same is true as between the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk and the region of East Anglia, of which they are parts.

County patriotism is usually associated with the Ancient Counties. In London and Birmingham some of the people seem still to associate themselves with the Ancient Counties of which parts are included in those cities. This is noticeable particularly in the crowds which support intercounty contests, as in county cricket. In Yorkshire local patriotism is for the Ancient County, though that has long ceased to be a unit for any purpose of local government. Yet it is noteworthy that in football, which as an organized game is far more directly dependent on popular support than is county cricket, the organization of clubs into leagues is concerned with the existing distribution of the people and means of communication, and not with associations of the past. Thus Carlisle joined the North-eastern League, which has its headquarters in Newcastle, and Stoke and Burslem are in the Lancashire Combination. The grouping of such organizations as these may well be a far better guide to local feeling in such matters than any appeal to tradition can be.

Yet the association of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, so widely recognized, has its roots far back in the Middle Ages, when the two shires were for long practically united under one sheriff; and this union rested on the fact that there is no serious barrier between them and both could be easily controlled from the one centre of Nottingham. Now the Erewash Valley, along the centre of which the county boundary runs,¹ is one of the most densely peopled areas in the two counties.

¹ Less than half its length is actually on the present course of the Erewash, which is now an insignificant stream. See the writer's article 'The Long Eaton District' in *The Geographical Teacher*, spring, 1915.

And in the life of the people of this valley the boundary is at best an interesting anachronism, at worst a serious obstacle to the efficient organization of public services. The separation of the dense and compact population of this valley between two counties is the effect of one of the worst of our local boundaries. Local feeling fully recognizes the unity of the Erewash Valley; and, we believe, associates the valley as a whole with Nottingham as its 'town'. In all cases of delimitation of new boundaries, local patriotism is concerned; though in most of the details of the boundaries here suggested it has perforce been disregarded because the writer cannot know its strength in the various areas.

This suggestion to divide England into provinces differs from the many attempts to extend the limits of cities and towns by the incorporation of neighbouring areas mainly in its scale, and in that it aims at a logical application of definite principles to the whole country. The boundaries of counties of all kinds have been moved. None of the larger of our present local government divisions has kept the same boundaries for any long period, and most of the boundaries between them are comparatively modern. Hence the suggestions in this book involve no changes which have not already been put into practice on some scale within the period since 1832. They involve merely the consideration of the problem of the adjustment of local government divisions as a whole, instead of the fragmentary treatment it has received in the past.

THE PROVINCIAL CAPITALS

MANY people are sufficiently familiar with some flourishing country market town to realize in how many ways it is a focus for the human life and organization of the district round about it.¹ The importance of such a town is normally due in the first instance to its situation at a convenient node of routes for its area. On market-day it is the meeting place of an important section of the population of that area, who come in primarily to dispose of their produce and to purchase stores. Hence it is the local focus of collecting and distributing trades, of shopping and of news. Usually it contains the offices of the Rural District Council, the Petty Sessional Court, the Divisional Police Station, the offices of the local Press, branches of banks and insurance companies, the secondary schools, and other institutions concerned with the life of the whole of the area it serves. Of these smaller regional centres such towns as Newbury, Barnard Castle, Banbury, and Oundle are examples. Such a market area should, if possible, be included as a whole in one province, since it is a unit area for some of the ordinary movements and activities of the people. At present many minor difficulties of administration arise where it extends into two or more counties, as is often the case: for instance patients under the National Insurance scheme at Newton, three miles from its market town and regional focus at Newbury, Berkshire, were required to go to the nearest Hampshire market town, Whitchurch, ten miles distant across the Downs, because Newton is just within the northern boundary of the Administrative County of Southampton, which here oversteps the Downs to include the southern slopes of the Kennet Valley.

¹ A. E. Smailes in 'The Urban Hierarchy of England and Wales', *Geography*, Vol. 29 (1944), examines the problem of grading towns on the basis of their functions.

Instances of the regional capital on the larger scale of our provinces are necessarily fewer; therefore general statements are here altogether inadequate and it is necessary to examine particular cases. We may start by some consideration of the very modern city of Birmingham. This is by far the chief centre of population and the largest town of the West Midlands. During the First World War it was the headquarters of the West Midland Divisions set up for various purposes under the Defence of the Realm Act; it so functioned for the Civil Defence organization during World War II and it has thus been practically recognized as being in some respects the capital of that region.

In this region Birmingham was the chief seat of certain metal industries, a position to which it rose gradually in the centuries between the Norman Conquest and the Tudor Period. Its possession of deposits of a fine sand suitable for casting and its position near the Forest of Arden favoured its metalworking when charcoal was the chief fuel, and when coal replaced charcoal the town found itself near the chief coal-field of the West Midlands, so near that the cost of carriage on the roads and canals then coming into existence placed no serious check on its continued growth.¹ It was also favoured in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the absence of the restrictions of a medieval corporate borough, a result of its previous insignificance. As the chief focus of the metalworking industries, and the largest town of this industrial region, Birmingham naturally became the headquarters of the commercial and financial undertakings developed there—the site of offices, warehouses, exchanges, banks. Its natural nodality is not great, though it has possessed a local market for several centuries; but no other site in the Black Country has any greater nodality. At the beginning of the industrial period it was already a considerable centre of industry; as such it drew the new roads and canals and railways to it and so has acquired a very high degree of artificial nodality: it is the chief railway focus of the Midlands, in spite of the fact that it is not the actual place of intersection of the two great natural cross routes of the English Lowland—from London to the Midland Gate and from the Severn Estuary to Yorkshire.

This dominant nodality makes Birmingham the best centre in the

¹ John Leland, who visited Birmingham c. 1540, noted the many smiths who made cutting tools, bits, and nails and were using coal from the Staffordshire field.

West Midlands for the collecting and distributing trades, and for those numerous industries in which facilities for the gathering together of materials and for the wide distribution of the products are of prime importance—such as the clothing and furnishing industries. The same conditions make it a great shopping centre. But where people have come together for business and shopping they can conveniently stay for relaxation; and so the shopping centre is also a centre for the theatres and kindred places. Again, all these factors make the city an educational centre of the first rank. The University of Birmingham is one of the most vigorous of those youthful universities which date from this century, and its activities and influence reach far beyond the city boundaries. The city also contains the headquarters of many societies concerned with local investigations of various kinds in the Midlands, and of numerous other societies and associations, social, athletic, philanthropic, and so on.

But perhaps the chief function of a true capital is that it serves as a clearing-house and manufactory for the ideas and ideals and enthusiasms of its region. It cannot be a mere receiver and imitator of intellectual and social movements, though it is necessarily receptive and adaptive. This function of a true capital is as much more difficult to analyse and estimate as it is more vital than the simpler factors of geographical nodality and commercial or industrial activity. It finds some expression in various associations and agitations, but it is perhaps most definitely marked in the Press. This is indeed a principal factor in the influence of any capital, great or small. It has been said that London's opinion is dominant over all the area within which the average man has a London morning paper on his breakfast-table. Such a saying should not be taken too literally; but it embodies an important truth. An influential Press does tend to reflect and produce a sense of unity and a common measure of opinion and sentiment in the people among whom it circulates. Hence those cities in which such a Press has its home and its base of operations are in a very real sense capitals of regions which are united by some similarity of sentiments and opinions. In fact it becomes conceivable that the limits of these regions may be largely determined by the range of circulation of the periodical Press. Over the whole of such a region there tends to develop a distinctive community of opinions and ideals, of fashions and amusements; so that its capital tends to become a separate focus of political

and social thought and life, and as such to represent the region in the life of the nation. Mr. Mackinder (later Sir Halford) suggested that there were two such foci in England—London and the Manchester–Birmingham area.¹ But while the two latter cities may agree in differing from London they are themselves distinct foci. They can only be so grouped together if we think of them primarily as different from, and in some sense antagonistic to, London. Birmingham is itself a capital in this respect, with its own life and thought, distinct from and independent of both Manchester and London, and itself leading and formulating the opinions of its region. Its political record since the Industrial Revolution, and the independence of its Press, are evidence of its standing. It is ‘town’ for a populous and important area of the Midlands, the area which forms the greater part of our suggested West Midland or ‘Severn’ province.

There are other cities, or rather conurbations, in England which have, for the regions in which they are situated, an importance of the same order as that of Birmingham for the West Midlands. Each of these has a distinctive character of its own. Liverpool and Manchester (Professor Geddes’ ‘Lancaston’), Newcastle-upon-Tyne and its neighbours, Leeds and Bradford, Sheffield, and Bristol are the chief of these. The South Wales urban region focusing on Cardiff, and the Glasgow–Edinburgh conurbation in Scotland, are of the same type.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne is the chief town of the populous industrial region of North-eastern England. Within a radius of thirty miles from its bridge it has a population of more than two millions—half of them within twelve miles. This dense population is closely knit together by its contiguity, the similarity of its chief occupations, and its remoteness from any other comparable region; for this is the most isolated of the densely peopled areas of England (cf. Fig. 7, p. 56). The cluster of towns along the lower Tyne, which constitutes the natural capital of this region, has a total population exceeding three-quarters of a million, though the persistence of the county boundary and other divisions leaves only a third of them within the boundary of the City of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The 1951 census now recognizes and delimits the conurbation of Tyneside which had then a population of 835,322 (*see above*, p. 41).

¹ See *Britain and the British Seas*, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1907, second edition, p. 338.

Newcastle differs from Birmingham, and those other English cities whose importance is a recent development, in that it is situated at a very important node of natural routes. It is a bridge-town at the head of sea navigation on the Tyne¹ and at the intersection of the two chief routes of the North Country—the Great North Road from England to Scotland, which enters by the Northallerton Gate and leaves by the opening between Cheviot and the sea, and the east-west route from sea to sea through the Tyne Gap, which connects its eastern and western lowlands. This position made it the chief strategic base on the English border during the centuries of warfare with Scotland; and the frontier traditions of that time do in many ways persist, to help make of the North Country a region distinct from any other part of England, a distinctness which is strongly aided and emphasized by its relative remoteness from the capital. It was at an earlier period the central part of the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria, which stretched from the Humber to the Forth; and it is still in many respects an intermediate region between the English and Scottish Lowlands, rather than a part of either. In modern times Tyneside owes to its situation in the heart of a coal-field an industrial development which has added to it the artificial nodality of a great railway centre and all those other features of a strong regional capital which we have already noted in the case of Birmingham.

The next city of this type is Leeds, separated from Newcastle by a direct distance of eighty miles, which is more than twice that from Leeds to either Manchester or Sheffield. This city is one of the series of fall-line towns at the eastern foot of the Pennine Upland. It differs from the other towns of this series in that it is at the eastern end of a through route, the Aire Gap, and so possesses a much greater nodality. But since it lies some ten miles west of the line of the old North Road, and twenty from the line of the former North Eastern Railway, through the Vale of York, its natural nodality is less than that of Newcastle. Before the industrial period it was a market town of considerable local importance; during that period its possession of a higher degree of nodality than any other site on the West Riding coal-field made it the focal town of that industrial district, and enabled it to become a regional capital of the same order as Birmingham and Newcastle.

¹ Newcastle was not naturally accessible to modern seagoing ships and engineering works were necessary so to improve it: see A. J. Sargent, 'The Tyne', *The Geographical Journal*, XL (1912), pp. 469–86.

The coal-field which stretches for sixty miles along the eastern foot of the southern Pennines, from Leeds to Nottingham, has no one nodal site comparable to Newcastle or to that of Manchester in respect to the Lancashire coal-field. At its northern end is Leeds, to which we have already referred. At the southern end is Nottingham, out on the lowland, a bridge-town on the Trent and a node of more numerous but less definite and important natural routes than those which meet at Leeds. Here is a regional capital for the Trent Basin, somewhat smaller and weaker than those so far discussed. The city was already recognized in some degree as the regional capital of the East Midlands when in December 1917 it was the scene of the conference of the local Food Economy representatives for that area—the counties of Nottingham, Derby, Leicester, Rutland, Lincoln, and Northampton, and it was the seat of the only university institution of the region before the establishment of the University College of Leicester in 1918, which has now achieved university status.

About half-way between Leeds and Nottingham is Sheffield, situated in a side valley on the east of the broadest part of the southern Pennines. The town at the entrance to this valley is Doncaster, that at the junction of the chief tributary dale is Rotherham; and from it there is no easy route through the upland; hence the natural nodality of Sheffield is very small. But Sheffield had exceptionally favourable local conditions for the early development of its iron and steel industries; the growth of those industries led to the concentration there of a large population; and the economic demand for good communications between this industrial district and other areas of dense population led to the construction of roads and railways through the southern Pennines in spite of the formidable physical obstacles;¹ so that Sheffield is now an important railway centre and has acquired a very considerable artificial nodality. This has enabled it to become the effective focus of a small region, which includes most of the High Peak District and the greater part of the area drained by the River Don, and it had a population in 1911 of nearly one and a quarter millions, and in 1951 of 1.5 millions. The character of its industries marks it off very clearly from the Leeds and Nottingham districts, and emphasizes the distinctive character of this region, which we have marked off as the Province of Peakdon.

¹ See the writer's article in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for January 1917.

In the south-west of the country Bristol is another regional capital of the type here discussed. In its natural nodality and the strength of the traditions which mark it as the capital of its region, the 'West of England', it is more akin to Newcastle and Nottingham than to Birmingham or Sheffield. It has now a population similar to those of the Sheffield and Nottingham urban areas, but only half, or less than half, as numerous as those centring on Newcastle and Birmingham.

Last, but by no means least, of these great provincial capitals is the South Lancashire urban region, with its poles in Liverpool and Manchester. In England, Manchester is second only to London as the headquarters of industrial, commercial, and financial interests; its high relative standing is shown by the fact it alone of the extra-London cities of England and Wales now has its High Court of Justice for criminal cases. Manchester is the headquarters of the Co-operative Movement; and it has been a chief centre of Labour and Socialist political developments as in recent generations it was the home of the 'Manchester School'. In the British Association Handbook to Manchester 1915,¹ it is written:

'... the city has this further characteristic of a capital, that it is an active manufactory of agitation and thought. It is the headquarters of the temperance movement and the vegetarian movement, and indeed harbours as many living causes as Oxford does lost ones. It has more journalists than any (other) city in England except London and the most literary daily newspaper in the country. The repertory theatre came to life again in Manchester and called into being a school of dramatists. . . .'

In the tendency of its population to segregate into suburbs of distinctive types, as its Jews cluster in Cheetham Hill, Manchester recalls London and other great capitals; and this tendency has probably gone further here than in any other of our provincial capitals.

The urban area of South Lancashire and Cheshire has a total population of about four millions, and so may rank among the great conurbations of the world. It is not yet generally thought of as a unit because of the fact that the centres of its two areas of maximum

¹ *Manchester in 1915*, published by the Manchester University Press, 1915—from the article on 'Manchester of To-day' by W. H. Mills.

density, Liverpool and Manchester, are thirty miles apart, and they have developed up to the present as distinct and often rival cities. Many other towns in this region have been absorbed in its growth, though they are not yet amalgamated or associated for local government purposes. Indeed the census of 1951 has divided this great conurbation for statistical purposes into two—the South-east Lancashire conurbation and the Merseyside conurbation, which contained populations of 2·42 and 1·38 millions respectively. The need for a local authority, such as our suggested provincial parliament, which can co-ordinate the expansion and regional planning of the whole area and its interlocking public services, is greater and more urgent than anywhere else outside Greater London.

In the south-eastern lowland of England London is dominant. In the whole of this area there are about seventeen million people, and of these Greater London includes some 8·3 millions—nearly half. The south-east of England differs completely from the north and west of the country in many respects; it is more generally fertile, and it lacks the highland barriers and sea inlets which cut up the rest of the country into well-defined natural regions; it has no important sources of coal and iron, and so has no corresponding industrial areas; it is nearer to, and much more intimately influenced by, the Continent, and has thus been set apart in its historical development from the more remote and insular parts of the land; and lastly, it has near its centre a site of such pre-eminent nodality that the capital which grew up here has been able to dominate and unite the whole area. None of the provincial capitals hitherto discussed is within a hundred miles of London. Within this radius the various natural regions are much less strongly marked off from one another and are more like each other than those of the rest of England; hence the overwhelming preponderance of London has prevented the development of any other regional capital comparable to those of the north and west. Thus the capitals of the various provinces of south-eastern England are of a different order from those of the north-western half of the country, and they are far less influential, even within their regions. Oxford is the chief node of routes and market centre of the Upper Thames Basin; but as a focus of thought and opinion it is almost a part of the metropolis.¹ In East Anglia, Norwich is the largest town and the traditional centre; and it appears to be in

¹ This view may not find ready acceptance everywhere. (Editors' note.)

some degree a regional capital for that part of England. In the Hampshire Basin Southampton occupies a site analogous to that of the national capital in the London Basin; but for this region also London is 'town', and there is no real regional capital in it as yet. In the south-western peninsula Plymouth is so much the most important focus of population that there can be no hesitation in marking it as the capital of the province.

PROVINCE OF NORTH ENGLAND

THE North Country is one of the most distinctive of the more populous regions of England. A glance at the population map shows that the densely peopled mining and industrial area of the north-east coast is more distinctly set apart from the other areas of similar density of population than any of the latter are from each other. To the north the barren highlands of the Cheviots and the Southern Uplands of Scotland interpose a band of sparsely peopled country some eighty miles in width between this region and the populous Midland Valley of Scotland. To the south the North York Moors, the Central Pennines, and the Cumbrian Mountains form a similar, though narrower, band of scantily peopled land across the island which holds the North Country apart from the rest of England.

The northern boundary of this province is the Anglo-Scottish line; though it is possible that the citizens of Berwick-on-Tweed might prefer to be included in Scotland, in which case it would be drawn south of that town. To the east and west this province reaches the sea, and its southern boundary is shown in its general trend on Figures 1, 11 and 12, frontispiece and pages 162 and 163 respectively.

This southern boundary starts from the west coast about ten miles south of St. Bees Head. It is drawn directly inland along the ridge which forms the north-western watershed of the River Irt to the western end of the Cumbrian Mountains, north-west of West Water. Thence it stretches eastward to Shap Fell along the central axial ridge of those mountains, which here forms the main watershed. From here our line follows the divide between the headwaters of the rivers Eden and Lune, on the moors which separate the northern and southern divisions of Westmorland, to the head of Edendale, where it reaches the county boundary between Westmorland and the North Riding of York. On

the indefinite waterparting between the headstreams of the Eden and the Ure the line almost coincides with the county boundary; and thence it follows that boundary round the head of Swaledale to the crest of Browner Edge. Here it reaches the headwaters of streams which flow to the Tees, and from here it stretches eastwards along the divide between these streams and the northern tributaries of the Swale, between Teesdale and Swaledale. Between the villages of Newsham and Dalton the watershed, and with it the boundary, crosses a marshy valley which cuts through this ridge to the western end of a secondary ridge whose highest part is known as Gatherley Moor. Along this latter ridge it stretches in a south-easterly direction to the edge of the lowland. Across the Northallerton Gate our boundary follows the Tees-Swale waterparting, which is very rarely distinct, passing between the villages of Barton and Middleton Tyas, and to the north of Great Smeaton and Appleton Wiske. It crosses the Great North Road about a mile north of Scotch Corner, on the main line of the former L.N.E.R. a mile south of Eryholme Junction, and the Leeds and Stockton branch, a little north of West Rounton Gates. Thence it stretches south-eastward up the slopes of the North York Moors between Potto and Ingleby Arncliffe to reach the crest on Whorlton Moor, between Whorlton-in-Cleveland and Osmotherley. From this moor our boundary is drawn eastward along the axis of the North York Moors between the streams which flow northward to the rivers Leven and Esk and those which flow southward to the Vale of Pickering. At its eastern end the line reaches the North Sea by the cliffs south of Robin Hood's Bay.

This southern boundary of North England, as it is here defined, satisfies the conditions for a good provincial boundary laid down in Chapter 4 to a remarkably high degree. For the greater part of its length it is drawn through almost uninhabited country on watersheds between valleys, all of which open out away from it. At its western end it crosses the coastal plain approximately half-way between the small market towns of Egremont and Ravenglass, where that plain narrows somewhat and so marks off the two market areas. On the moors of Central Westmorland the boundary is similarly nearly half-way between the market towns to north and south of it, namely Appleby and Kendal and Kirkby Stephen and Sedbergh. Again to the east of the Pennines, where it crosses a fairly populous area in the Northallerton Gate, it passes nearly half-way between pairs of market towns in Barnard Castle

and Richmond-on-Swale, Darlington and Northallerton, and Stockton-on-Tees and Northallerton. And it reaches the East Coast midway between Whitby and Scarborough. This relation to the centres of population indicates that the boundary does satisfy the first requirement of a good administrative boundary, in that it would minimize any interference with the normal movements and associations of the people dwelling near to it.

Our boundary leaves to the North Country all the county of Cumberland except its projection along the coastal plain to the south of the mountains, in the valleys of the rivers Irt (Wasdale) and Esk and the western half of the Duddon Valley. The River Duddon forms the present county boundary between Lancashire and Cumberland; and this division of a small valley along its stream produces the usual result of cutting a natural unit area in two for its local government. Its market town is Broughton-in-Furness; but it is divided between the Rural Districts of Bootle (Cumberland) and Ulverston (Lancashire), which are mainly in the neighbouring valleys. The part of Cumberland which our boundary leaves to the Lancashire Province includes the Urban District of Millom, the Rural District of Bootle, and two parishes, Gosforth and Wasdale, in the Rural District of Whitehaven.

From a point a mile east of Scafell Pike to Dunmail Raise our boundary coincides with that between Cumberland and Westmorland. Thence it is drawn across the middle of Westmorland and through the North Riding of York. In the last-named county it leaves the whole of Teesdale and the iron-mining district of Cleveland to the North Country. The three market towns of the Tees Valley, Barnard Castle, Darlington, and Stockton, are all on the northern side of the river; and Teesdale presents a glaring example of the absurd results which follow when a county boundary is drawn along a stream so as to intersect so obvious a natural unit as a Pennine dale. The dale is cut into two rural districts, Barnard Castle in Durham and Startforth in the North Riding. It has but one market town, at Barnard Castle, and its district councils naturally meet here and work in common as far as possible. For voluntary associations the dale is, of course, a unit area, as, for instance, for the Teesdale Farmers' Co-operative Association; and there is but one local newspaper, the *Teesdale Mercury*. The fact that the river forms a boundary between two Administrative Counties handicaps the

organization of public services in the dale in many ways, of which we may mention that of the bridges. The duty of bridging the river is shared between the county councils of Durham and the North Riding, and the work requires the co-operation of both; but for each of these bodies its share of Teesdale is a relatively unimportant outlying part of its area. A not unnatural result is the fact that there are only half as many bridges across the Tees above Darlington as there are across the Wear above Bishop Auckland. Weardale is rather more populous than Teesdale and the Wear is a slightly smaller river than the Tees; but the physical obstacles to bridging are very similar in the two cases. The relative lack of crossing facilities in Teesdale is not due to any lack of demand for them. The difference is that Weardale is a political as well as a natural unit, for the administration of which one authority is responsible, while Teesdale is divided between two administrative counties. If we compare the crossing facilities for the whole length of each river, the comparison is equally unfavourable to the boundary river.

In the lowland our boundary follows the watershed and thereby unites with the North Country an area south of the Tees, most of which now forms the Croft Rural District. This district, like that of Startforth, was formerly included in the Registration County of Durham. It is in the Darlington market area and postal district, and its council conducts most of its business in Darlington for obvious reasons of convenience. Hence for its local government the area should be associated with the rest of the Tees Valley rather than with the Vale of York.

The industrial and urban area of Tees-side extends from Stockton through Middlesbrough to South Bank and has its residential suburbs spread round from Norton and Eaglescliffe to Redcar and Saltburn. This area spreads into two counties, but its economic and social unity and the fact that it is a part of the north-east coast industrial region are too well recognized to need emphasizing here. Middlesbrough is, by rail, 42 miles from Newcastle and $67\frac{1}{2}$ from Leeds. The Tees-side district is closely connected with the populous area of Durham and Northumberland; but it is severed from that of the West Riding by the whole width of the thinly peopled area of the North Riding and the agricultural Vale of York, as well as by the different character of its principal industrial occupations. The voluntary associations of the district ignore the county boundary. And the Tees Valley Water Board

gives a practical illustration of the unity of the whole valley; from its gathering grounds on the upper tributaries to the towns on the estuary it links together towns and hamlets, with due regard to the physical and human unity of the valley and no reference to the county boundary which divides it. The essential point is that urban fields and social groupings ignore the county boundary, except for services administered on a county basis.

This county boundary along the Tees gives a fair sample of the inconveniences which result from drawing such a dividing line along the centre of a valley. There are worse instances, where the stream is smaller or the valley more densely peopled, or both, as on the Mersey between Lancashire and Cheshire, the Dove between Derbyshire and Staffordshire, the Tamar between Cornwall and Devon, the Blackwater between Hampshire and Surrey, and others. The Thames is the only one of our larger English rivers which forms a county boundary for any considerable distance; but in our days the County of London and the County Boroughs of Oxford and Reading have all extended across it by the growth, and subsequent incorporation, of suburbs on the opposite bank. In all cases our provincial boundaries are so drawn as to include both sides of such a stream in one province, and so avoid all such difficulties as those we have referred to in the Tees Valley.

The North Country Province includes two distinct areas of relatively dense population. The larger one lies to the east of the Pennines, on the Durham-Northumberland coal-field and Tees-side; it has more than two million inhabitants. The second is on the Cumberland coal- and iron-field, on the shore of the Irish Sea and the lowland north of the Cumberland Mountains; it contains a little more than a quarter of a million inhabitants. The whole of that part of the province which lies west of the Pennine crest contains only some 300,000 people. This region is thus not sufficiently populous to form a separate province, though it is more distinctly marked off by natural barriers than most of our provinces. The easiest route connecting it with other parts of England is that through the Tyne Gap eastward from Carlisle; and Newcastle is by far the nearest of the great modern regional capitals. The distance from Carlisle to Newcastle is only two-thirds of that to Edinburgh or Preston and half that to Manchester or Leeds (cf. Table on page 88). A secondary link between the eastern and western lowlands of the North Country is formed by the road and

railway across Stainmore Pass in the south of the province. These facts form a strong argument for associating this north-west corner of England with the north-east rather than with either Lancashire or Yorkshire. They indicate that the Cumbrian Lowland and the northern slopes of its mountains are more accessible from the north-east coast, and so could be more easily and economically associated with that area. This region is geographically a part of the North Country and not of the Lancashire Province.

Outside the two areas of dense population, in the rest of the North Country there is a comparatively thinly spread agricultural population on the lowland in the Tees Valley south of the great coal-field, on the coastal plain to the north, and in the Eden Valley. Elsewhere the land is for the most part high and barren and very lightly peopled, but with a tongue of slightly denser population stretching into every dale.

The four north-western counties of Cheshire, Lancashire, Westmorland, and Cumberland have often been associated for some purposes. This grouping seems to have originated in most cases in London, and to be a result of viewing the country from the capital; it is often accompanied by a corresponding north-eastern group consisting of Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland. These two groups of counties are arranged respectively along the West and East Coast roads from the English Lowland to Scotland; and the arrangement tacitly assumes that these routes are the dominant facts in the organization of this part of England. But in the North Country the east-west route through the Tyne Gap is much easier than that from Cumberland southward to Lancashire: on the latter the railway rises to nearly a thousand feet above sea-level at Shap Summit, while between Carlisle and Newcastle it nowhere reaches half that altitude. For some other purposes the four northern counties are grouped together, as in the association of specific areas with the universities by the Board of Agriculture, in which these four counties are associated with the University of Durham (Armstrong College, Newcastle). As might be expected, the various divisions set up for different purposes, governmental and industrial, show examples of both groupings but Standard Region I (cf. Fig. 2, p. 39) agrees closely with our North England Province.

All such official divisions necessarily employ existing county or district boundaries. And there is a strong tendency for voluntary organizations centred in London to do the same. For example, the

Workers' Educational Association divides England into fifteen 'Districts', each of which consists of a group of counties, or, in densely settled areas, parts of counties. It is of interest that its northern district consists of the four counties of Cumberland, Durham, Northumberland, and Westmorland. Carlisle thus appears more closely related to Newcastle than to Manchester.

The extent to which a provincial capital can really be the focus of the province depends very largely on its accessibility from all parts. And this in turn depends on the distances and routes. For all places within a two hours' journey the capital can act effectively as the regional focus, since it is easily possible for anyone to come in for a day at any time. In our provinces there is only one considerable area in England which is more than sixty miles distant from its provincial capital. This is the western extremity of the North Country and the northern part of the Lancashire Province, i.e. the Cumbrian coast plain together with most of the Lake District and Furness. No part of any province is as much as a hundred miles from its capital except a part of the Scilly Isles. The railway distances are in all cases greater than the straight-line distances. In the North Country the stations furthest from the capital are Berwick in the north (67 miles), Robin Hood's Bay in the south-east (85), and Sellafield in the extreme south-west ($111\frac{1}{2}$). None of these is too remote to be brought within effective reach of the capital and its activities; though these distances are generally greater than those between corresponding places in the other provinces.

Our North Country Province includes the modern counties of Durham and Northumberland, nearly the whole of Cumberland, the northern division of Westmorland, and the northern sections of the North Riding of York; and it may be of interest to note here its relations to some older divisions of Britain. With the Anglo-Saxon settlement its eastern section formed the central part of the Anglian Kingdom of Northumbria, while its western section was the southern part of British Strathclyde. And Carlisle first became English when it was taken by the Northumbrian Angles, acting through the Tyne Gap. During the Danish and Norse invasions most of the north-eastern half seems to have remained Anglian territory. The settlements of the Danes in the Vale of York and of the Norsemen in Cumberland and Edendale, which were for a time united, along the roads over Stainmore Pass, in a Kingdom of York, cut off the northern Angles from those in the Midlands.

After the Norman Conquest, and the cession of Cumbria by Malcolm of Scotland (*c.* A.D. 1091), the greater part of the North Country was organized in three frontier marches, the earldoms of Carlisle and Northumberland and the palatine bishopric of Durham. The earldom of Carlisle included the northern part of Westmorland and most of modern Cumberland. Most of modern Northumberland was divided between the earldom of that name and the bishopric; the latter also included modern Durham. Cleveland and Richmondshire, the north-west part of York, were not part of the Border Marches; but the latter, at least, was sufficiently near to, and on the route of, the 'border' to share in its guerilla warfare and general insecurity.

The unity of the North Country, and hence its claim to be a distinct province, rests upon two groups of considerations, the one economic and the other traditional, both of which arise from its geographical position and relations. It contains nearly three million people, a larger population than that of Wales, on rather more than half the area of that country, who are united to a very large extent by their contiguity and the similarity or interdependence of their chief occupations, and are set apart from the rest of the nation by the position and separateness of the region they inhabit. And this population is so distributed that its local government could most conveniently be organized in one province, with a natural capital in its chief city. The second ground is less definite. The area included in the province is historically the area controlled by the Lords of the Marches and the Prince Bishop of Durham; and life in it was dominated for centuries by the border warfare with Scotland. That period greatly strengthened the marked unity and individuality of the North Country, a character which is strongly impressed on its regional traditions and folklore. For several centuries, while the rest of England was a peaceful agricultural country, this border region was its fighting frontier, a land of savage guerilla warfare of mingled heroism and barbarity. In every ancient village there are traditions of the border raids. For long after the cessation of that warfare the then poor region of the north was an unimportant part of the realm, except for the fact that the road from England to Scotland passed through it for a hundred miles. It was too poor and barbarous to attract settlers from the more fertile lands to the south, and hence maintained its distinctive character. But at the opening of the Industrial Period its wealth in readily accessible coal and iron gave the North Country great advantages,

which were exploited to the full. The steam locomotive and the railway originated here, and so many other of the early mechanical inventions that Tyneside may well be termed the 'Florence of the Industrial Renaissance'. And the region was well to the front in the transition from paleotechnic to neotechnic industry. The North Country traditions of independence and initiative have been carried on to our own days, and well support its claim to provincial self-government.

NOTE: The following railway distances have a considerable bearing on some of the matters discussed in this chapter. They are taken from *Bradshaw's Railway Guide*:

					Miles
Newcastle	to Berwick	..	..	..	67
Berwick	to Edinburgh	..	..	..	57 $\frac{1}{2}$
Carlisle	to Newcastle	..	..	..	60 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Edinburgh	..	..	..	98 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Preston	..	..	..	90
	Manchester	..	..	..	120 $\frac{3}{4}$
	Leeds ..	..	..	..	112 $\frac{3}{4}$
Whitehaven	to Newcastle	..	..	..	100 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Manchester	..	..	..	132 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Leeds ..	..	..	..	138
Sellafield	to Newcastle	..	..	..	111 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Manchester	..	..	..	121 $\frac{1}{4}$
	Leeds	..	..	..	127
Middlesbrough	to Newcastle	..	..	..	42
	Leeds ..	..	..	..	67 $\frac{1}{2}$
Robin Hood's Bay	to Middlesbrough	..	..	..	43
	Newcastle	..	..	..	85
	Leeds ..	..	..	..	82 $\frac{3}{4}$

PROVINCE OF LANCASHIRE

A COMPARISON of the population and relief maps shows the densely peopled area of South Lancashire and Cheshire occupying the lowland, and the lower slopes of the Pennines, in a region which is clearly marked out by the Cumbrian Mountains and the Pennines to north and east and the Irish Sea to the west. To the south-west this region extends to the foot of the Welsh Upland; and to the south it is continuous with the main area of the English Lowland, through the Midland Gate between the Welsh and Pennine uplands. It is this distinctive region, the area drained to the Irish Sea between the Cumbrian and Cambrian Mountains, that we have marked off as the Lancashire Province.

The northern boundary of this province has already been described as the western section of the southern boundary of the North Country. Its eastern boundary is drawn near the crest of the Pennines, along the main watershed of England, through country which is uninhabited except where the depressions of the Aire Gap and the higher gaps west and south of Todmorden favour the meeting of the dense populations on the two slopes of this part of the upland. Leaving the North Country boundary at the head of Edendale, this line trends southward, crossing the railway barely a mile east of Hawes Junction and thence following the crest east of Ribblesdale and passing over Penygvent and between Settle and Malham to the Aire Gap. In this gap it crosses the former Midland Railway about a mile east of Hellifield Junction and passes between the villages of Hellifield and Otterburn and Bracewell and Barnoldswick, to approach the existing county boundary about two miles south by west from the last-named town. It is thus drawn so as to leave the whole of the westward projection of Yorkshire, in Ribblesdale and the land west of it, to the Lancashire Province. For several miles southward from Barnoldswick the county boundary is near the water-parting; and our provincial boundary follows it, except for the small

variations required to leave each of the numerous reservoirs and gathering grounds of this part of the Pennines in the same province as the town it serves. In the gap between Burnley and Todmorden our boundary has been drawn half a mile west of the county line, so as to leave the suburbs of the latter town in Yorkshire and keep to the waterparting.

On the moors north-east of Oldham the present county line suddenly bends westward from the crest to include in the West Riding of York the Urban Districts of Saddleworth and Springhead. These lie in the upper valley of the Tame, a small tributary of the Irwell, at the western foot of Standedge, and reach the eastern edge of Oldham. Here our boundary line keeps to the crest, and passes over Standedge Tunnel, so cutting off this projection and leaving these eastern suburbs of Oldham to Lancashire. From here the line follows the watershed south-eastward over Woodhead Tunnel to Lady Cross, near the source of the Little Don river. There it bends sharply to the south-west and is drawn round the headwaters of the River Derwent to the summit of the Peak, and thence southward over Cowburn Tunnel and by Black Edge to the crest of Axe Edge, west of Buxton. It thus leaves to the Lancashire Province the north-west corner of Derbyshire, about Glossop, Chinley, and Chapel-en-le-Frith, in the valleys, which is in fact the south-eastern edge of the South Lancashire urban region, and for which Manchester is 'town'.

Round about the headwaters of the River Trent is the densely peopled area of the Potteries, which consists administratively of the County Borough of Stoke-upon-Trent, the Municipal Borough of Newcastle-under-Lyme, and Kidsgrove Urban District. This area of dense population, with 360,000 people in 1951, stretches over the watershed to the north and is continuous with that of South Lancashire and East Cheshire; it is however separated from the similarly populous area of South Staffordshire by the thinly peopled moorlands in the centre of that county. Hence our provincial boundary in this neighbourhood is drawn across the upper valleys of the Trent and some of its tributaries so as to leave the Potteries District in the Lancashire Province.

From Axe Edge the line is continued southward on the ridge just east of Flash, over Mooridge Top and Merryton Low, between the valley of the River Churnet and Dovedale, crossing a branch of the railway between Leek and Uttoxeter in the dip in the ridge for about

four miles, and then is drawn a little west of south to cross the River Churnet a mile above Alton. From here it is drawn to the south-west at a distance of some three miles from Cheadle, crossing the River Tean between Lower Tean and Checkley and the railway in the Blither Valley a little more than a mile north-west of Leight Station. Thence it is drawn westward, to cross the Trent to Tittensor Common nearly half-way between Trentham and Stone. West of the Trent our line stretches west by north to the Maer Hills between Whitmore and Maer, and along those hills to a point between Madeley and Woore, where it reaches the northern watershed of the Severn River system. Thence the boundary follows this divide westward, passing just north of Woore and some two and a half miles north of Market Drayton. North-west of this town is a series of villages, Ightfield, Ash Parva, and Ash Magna, and the market town of Whitchurch, all of which are on, or very close to, the divide. Hence the boundary is here drawn between the parks of Shavington and Cloverly, and thence to the south of the villages on the divide to reach the present Anglo-Welsh boundary west of Tilstock, near the south-east corner of the projecting detached part of Flintshire. It is then continued westward along the divide, passing Breaden Heath, and about a mile north of Ellesmere, to reach our suggested Anglo-Welsh boundary¹ west of Tilstock, near the south-east corner of the projecting detached part of Flintshire. It is then continued westward along the divide, passing Breaden Heath, and about a mile north of Ellesmere, to reach our suggested Anglo-Welsh boundary, by St. Martin's Moor, to the east of Weston Rhyn, just south of the Ceirog Valley.

The Lancashire Province as thus delimited is a very distinct geographical unit. To the north and east it is enclosed by well-marked areas of separation which set it apart from the North Country and from the Yorkshire Provinces. These sections of its boundary lie almost wholly on high and uninhabited moorlands, and cross populous strips only in a few valley routes through the uplands. The southern boundary is marked by no such definite dividing area. It is drawn from the south-western spurs of the Pennines westward to Wales across an inhabited lowland. The eastern part of its course, across the upper Trent Valley, is determined by the thinly peopled land south of the Potteries, the

¹ This boundary, described at length in the first edition of this book (pp. 216-26), was much altered in the revised scheme of provinces mapped in 1942 (cf. Figs 11 and 12, pp. 162-3).

western by the divide between the streams of the Cheshire Plain and the northern tributaries of the River Severn. It is inevitably far more difficult to draw a satisfactory boundary in such country than on the Pennines; but the line described satisfied the principles we have stated better than any other south boundary of Lancashire could do. The boundary in the south-west, between this province and Wales, will be referred to later as part of the Anglo-Welsh boundary as a whole (*see* Chapter 18).

The inhabitants of our Lancashire Province number seven millions. The province is second only to London in the numbers and density of its population; it contains two-fifths more people than Scotland, and nearly three times as many as Wales. This population is mainly concentrated in three densely crowded areas. The coal-field which lies at the western foot of the southern Pennines extends from the south side of the Ribble Valley to some distance south of the Mersey, approximately from Burnley to Macclesfield. Except for small patches of land on the high moors of Rossendale Forest and in the marshland of the Mersey this area is almost continuously urban. Its industrial life is mainly concerned with cotton manufacture and its subsidiary occupations and is focused on its central city of Manchester. Together with Salford and its immediate suburbs this city has a population of about a million; and at least half the population of the province lives within twenty miles of Manchester Town Hall, on an area over which the average density of population is nearly four thousand to the square mile.

From this main area of dense population two secondary areas branch out. The first stretches westward to the mouth of the Mersey Estuary, where it expands into the densely crowded mass of Liverpool and its satellite towns. These include about 1,400,000 people. Measured by the number within the city boundaries, Liverpool seems a somewhat larger city than Manchester; but it is the city focus for a population little more than half as numerous as that centring on the latter city. The second tongue of dense population extends southwards from the main area along the western foot of the Pennines to include the Potteries District. It occupies an area some twenty miles in length and half that in breadth, and includes about a million people. Its largest town is Stoke-on-Trent, with more than a quarter of a million inhabitants (275,000 in 1951). This distribution of the more populous areas justifies us in marking Manchester as the capital of the Province of

Lancashire, and also in including the Potteries in that province, since it is more closely and directly associated with the Manchester area than with any other corresponding regional capital.

The three areas just referred to, which centre on, or radiate from, the Manchester nucleus, contain about five-sixths of the inhabitants of the province. The few considerable towns outside them are either denser knots in the fringe of seaside suburbs of the main urban area, like Blackpool (147,000) and Southport (48,000), or specialized towns such as Barrow-in-Furness (67,000) and Crewe (52,000). The ancient city of Chester has also become an important railway centre and gathered to itself 48,000 inhabitants; it is thus now the smallest of the four towns just mentioned. Besides the urban and industrial districts to which we have referred, there is a well-peopled agricultural area on the plain which stretches along the western half of the province from the southern boundary to Morecambe Bay. Here agriculture, or more often horticulture, is prosperous because of the near neighbourhood of vast markets, in spite of a not wholly favourable climate and soil. Here the density of population is also increased by some overflow from the industrial areas. The part of the province north of the Lower Ribble, with the exception of the Fylde peninsula, is mainly composed of high and barren moorland, and has only a very scanty population in its more fertile valleys. Probably not more than a twentieth of the inhabitants of the province dwell north of the valley of the Ribble.

The whole of the populous areas of this Lancashire Province are within a radius of thirty-five miles from Manchester Town Hall. But in the north-west there is a considerable area which is more than sixty miles from the capital. Barrow-in-Furness and Kendal are just sixty miles away as the crow flies, though Barrow is more than eighty miles distant by rail, and there is only a very small population outside the sixty-mile radius. But at the extreme north-west corner Seascale Station is 119 miles from Manchester by rail: this station is further from the capital of its province than any other in England.

At the time of the Domesday Survey (A.D. 1086) the county of Lancashire did not exist. The northern part of our Lancashire Province was then the western part of Yorkshire; while most of that part to the south of the Ribble, together with Flintshire, made up the earldom of Chester. Historically the area of this province has never formed a unit; and its modern unity is mainly the result of two principal factors. First,

the physical unity of the region and its distinctness from other regions, which have favoured the development of 'Lancashire' traditions and dialect and a provincial individuality. And second, the economic unity due to the fact that its principal industry of cotton manufacture is dominant here and comparatively insignificant anywhere else in England. Lancashire resembles the North Country in that its importance in England dates mainly from the Industrial Revolution, witness its low demographic position in A.D. 1700 (cf. Fig. 6, p. 55). The real unity of its people is expressed in all the complex of sentiment and thought that goes to make up the typical Lancashireman. Here local patriotism is already strong; and it has developed a public opinion which makes this province quite as ripe for self-government as Scotland or Wales.

PROVINCE OF PEAKDON¹

ALONG the eastern foot of the central and southern Pennines is the largest coal-field of Britain; and on it there is a dense mining and industrial population comparable to those on the western side of the upland and in Durham-Northumberland. In this case, however, the coal is worked over most of a long and relatively narrow belt of country, which extends for sixty miles from the Aire to the Trent, but is only twenty miles in width at its northern end, and thence tapers irregularly to less than ten miles at its southern end. In form, the populous area on this coal-field is in three lobes, northern, central, and southern; and this prevents it from being focused on any one nodal town. The northern lobe includes twice as many people as either of the other two, each of which has about a million inhabitants. There is here a total population not very much less than that on the Lancashire coal-field; but instead of one regional capital comparable to Manchester there are three, Leeds in the northern, Sheffield in the central, and Nottingham in a nodal position on the edge of the southern section. The populations which are respectively focused on these three regional capitals are not separated from each other by any distinct physical barriers, and only by slightly less populous strips of country in the contractions of the densely peopled belt into its three lobes; but they differ sufficiently in their principal industries, and the resulting modes of life, and in their relation to different nodal cities, to justify the organization of each into a distinct province. The northern and southern capitals of Leeds and Nottingham extend their influence far beyond this belt of country, in the valleys of the Yorkshire rivers and the Trent respectively; the central one, Sheffield, has a more contracted

¹ In his map published in 1942 Professor Fawcett eliminated this province from his scheme: see above, p. 15, and Fig. 12, p. 163.

sphere of influence between the other two—and this is the province with which we are now concerned.

Nearly the whole of this province is made up of two distinct areas. The eastern section is occupied by the drainage area of the River Don, including the valleys of its chief tributaries, the Dearne and the Rother. And the western section includes most of the High Peak District. These two areas are separated from each other by a narrow strip of almost uninhabited moorland on the ridge between the drainage areas of the rivers Don and Derwent; but for all the western area Sheffield is the regional capital. Its principal roads converge on that city; the railway connects it with Sheffield through the Totley Tunnel; and for most of it Sheffield is the postal town.¹ Because it is mainly made up of the High Peak District and the Don Valley we have here called this the Peakdon Province.

The western boundary of this province coincides with the eastern boundary of the Lancashire Province on the main divide of England, from north of Woodhead to Axe Edge, a direct distance of a little more than twenty miles. This line crosses the two direct railways between Sheffield and Manchester, over Woodhead Tunnel and Cowburn Tunnel respectively, in each case approximately half-way between the two cities. It lies on unpeopled moorlands except in the high gap south-east of Chapel-on-le-Frith, where it crosses the thinly peopled pastoral and quarrying area of Peak Forest.

The southern boundary starts from Axe Edge some three miles south-west of Buxton, and is drawn south-eastward on the high ground between the Wye Valley and Dovedale, passing between the villages of Monyash and Longnor, Youlgreave and Hartington, to a point about three miles west of the hamlet of Aldwark. This stretch of the boundary is on a plateau surface similar to that about Peak Forest; and it is nowhere very far from the Buxton and High Peak branch of the old L. & N.W.R., a mineral line which serves the quarries of the neighbourhood. Near Aldwark the boundary turns to the east and passes along the minor divide north of the Via Gellia, to the gorge of the Derwent at Matlock. It crosses this gorge just south of the High Tor, between Matlock and Matlock Spa, where the valley is narrowest and the strip

¹ For some details of this relationship, see the author's article on 'Edale: A Study of a Pennine Dale', in *The Scottish Geographical Magazine*, January 1917.

of populous agricultural land in it is broken. Thence it stretches directly eastward for some three miles, on the ridge south of the Tansley Brook, to a point about a mile south-east of Tansley village. Here our boundary bends sharply to the north-west to curve round the headwaters of the little River Amber and leave its valley to the Trent Province. This valley-head is mainly occupied by the parish of Ashover, a manufacturing village whose industries of lace and hosiery associate it with Nottingham rather than with Sheffield. Three miles east of Ashover is Clay Cross, a small manufacturing town of recent growth, situated astride the water-parting between the Don and Trent river systems, in the long north-south valley which has been worn out in the Coal Measures between the Pennines and the edge of the Magnesian Limestone to the east of them. North of Clay Cross this valley is drained by the Rother and south by the Amber. In Clay Cross itself, the church is on the southward slope, while the principal works and the railway station are in the valley of the Rother. The town is chiefly concerned with coal- and iron-working, and is on the whole more associated with Sheffield than with the Trent Province; hence our boundary is drawn south of it. The line passes between the hamlet of Alton and Ashover village, and then just to the south of Clay Cross, between that town and Stretton, and round the head of the Rother Valley, between Pilsley and Tibshelf; thence it turns to the north through the east of Hardwick Park, leaving the small Nottinghamshire hamlet of Stanley in Peakdon.

This southern boundary of the province is for the greater part of its length drawn along a thinly peopled area of separation between the more populous districts to north and south of it. And it crosses the Derwent at the gorge which is the natural break between the upper and lower sections of its valley. But in its last section, east of Ashover, the line crosses the belt of the Coal Measures and its band of dense population. It comes to this area in the contraction between the southern and central expansions of that band; but any line drawn across such an area must be open to criticism in relation to our principles. This one has the advantages over any other (1) of passing through the least populous parts of the area; (2) of keeping near to the watershed and so minimizing complications in regard to the water supply, which is necessarily a difficult matter in such a district; and (3) of lying very nearly half-way between the provincial capitals.

Most of the eastern boundary of this Province of Peakdon lies on

the high ground between the valley of the Rother and Don and the lower part of the Vale of Trent. This is composed of two parallel bands of rock. The eastern band is the northern half of a low plateau, from one hundred to three hundred feet above sea-level, on the outcrop of the Bunter Sandstone. This plateau of Sherwood Forest is an elongated oval, extending over some thirty miles from near Nottingham to a little south-east of Doncaster, with a mean width of about eight miles. It is a district of poor soil and scanty population, containing no centre of population larger than such considerable villages as Edwinstowe and Ollerton. The market towns of Worksop and Mansfield lie just off its western edge, and East Retford marks its eastern limit. It is trenched by a series of transverse valleys in which small streams flow across it from west to east. The western band of high ground is on the outcrop of Magnesian Limestone; it is a plateau akin to that of Sherwood, but with half the width from west to east and at twice the altitude above sea-level. It has on the whole a more fertile soil, but in modern times its much denser population is mainly a result of the fact that the coal is easily reached from shafts sunk through the Magnesian rock, as in East Durham, and hence it is a part of the coal-field. The waterparting lies generally nearer to the western than to the eastern edge of this narrow plateau; but the valleys are all small; and the distribution of the population has led us to draw the boundary nearer to the eastern edge, not far from the north-western boundary of Nottinghamshire. In this area it is conceivable that a further eastward extension of the working of the hidden coal-field might produce a corresponding change in the distribution and economic relations of the population, and so justify a corresponding eastward shift of the boundary of the province.

From Hardwick Park our eastern boundary is drawn northward between the hamlets of Ault Hucknall and Rowthorn and east of Glapwell. Thence it passes between Bolsover and Scarcliffe, over the long tunnel which here passes through the ridge, to the neighbourhood of Clowne. This is a large colliery village situated, like Clay Cross, actually astride of the waterparting in a shallow col in which the ridge is crossed by two roads and railways. Our line is here bent to the east, so as to leave the Rural District of Clowne, with its four large mining villages of Barlborough, Clowne, Elmlton, and Whitwell, in the Peakdon Province. Thence it continues northward along the eastern edge of the coal-mining district and west of Sherwood, between the row of colliery

villages, Harthill, South and North Anston, Dinnington, Laughton-en-le-Morthen, and Maltby, to the west, and the agricultural districts about the market towns of Worksop and Bawtry to the east, to a point nearly half-way between Wadworth and Tickhill. From here the boundary bends sharply eastward to circle round Doncaster¹ and its suburbs. This town is on the Don just where that river comes out from the higher ground, and its valley merges into the low and level land of the Humberhead marshes, an area which is mostly less than twenty-five feet above the sea and very closely resembles the Fenland. The boundary continues eastward to the Great North Road about two miles north of Bawtry, the small market town which has the distinction of having its church in one county (Nottinghamshire) and its market-place in another (the West Riding). On crossing the North Road our line bends northward, cutting off the projecting tongue of Yorkshire which reaches into Bawtry, and passes between the hamlets of Auckley and Blaxton, and thence along the marches east of Armthorpe to reach the river a mile above Barnby-on-Don.

The northern boundary of this province has the same general character as the eastern part of its southern boundary. It stretches across the West Riding, from the crest of the Pennines to the lower course of the Don, in an area which is only slightly less densely peopled than those on each side of it. This line generally keeps to the divide between the tributaries of the Don and those of the Calder; it marks approximately the transition from the iron-working district which centres on Sheffield to the woollen manufacturing district of which Leeds is the focus, and it is for most of its length almost equidistant from those two provincial capitals.

From the Lancashire boundary two miles north of Woodhead the line is drawn north-eastward along the crest of the spur which separates the upper Don Valley from that of the small River Holme, between the Penistone and Holmfirth districts. Thence it turns northward west of Skelmanthorpe, round the headwaters of the River Dearne to curve west and north of the large village of Flockton. The villages of Skelmanthorpe and Clayton at the head of the Dearne have no direct railway connection with the towns further down that river, but this could easily be supplied by an extension of the line to Clayton for three miles down the valley to join the existing line. Flockton lies some six miles north-west

¹Doncaster became a county borough in 1926.

of Barnsley, the northernmost of the important towns of the Sheffield iron-working district, and about the same distance east-south-east of Huddersfield, the southernmost town of the woollen manufacturing district of the West Riding. From here the boundary keeps to the northern watershed of the Dearne Valley and trends eastward, passing just north of West Bretton and west of Woolley, and thence between Royston and Notton to the dip in the dividing ridge through which the Aire and Calder Canal passes. Thence the line stretches eastward on a low ridge, passing a little north of Hamsworth and Upton to the end of the ridge two miles west of Campsall. Here it bends south-eastwards and passes directly across the marshland to meet the eastern boundary on the River Don.

The Province of Peakdon, within the boundaries just described, is the smallest in area but not the least populous of our provinces. It contains (1951) one and a half millions of people, a population which is considerably more than half that of Wales, on less than one-eighth of the area of that country; and it ranks tenth among our twelve provinces of England in this respect. In the order of density of population this province ranks second only to the London Province, having a density slightly in excess of that of the Lancashire Province, and more than twice that of the West Midland Province, which comes next to it (*see* Appendix, Table (b) on p. 176) and twice the average density for the whole country. More than a third of its inhabitants live within the City of Sheffield. Its other important towns are Rotherham (82,334), Doncaster (81,896), Barnsley (75,625), and Chesterfield (68,540), all on the coal-field in the drainage area of the Don. The western part of the province, the High Peak District, drained by the Derwent, contains only a twentieth of its population. The whole of the province is within a radius of twenty-five miles from Sheffield; and all but the south-western corner has easy direct railway communication with that city. In the south-west, however, the Wye Valley and the part of the Derwent Valley from Rowsley to Matlock is served by the Derby and Manchester branch of the former Midland Railway, which is connected with direct lines to Sheffield only outside the province at Ambergate and Chinley Junctions. This valley could easily be brought into direct connection with Sheffield by the construction of a linking line, some six or seven miles in length, from the west end of the Totley Tunnel to near Hassop, a little north of Bakewell, the market town of the Wye Valley.

There are no special physical difficulties in the way of this branch which would be a useful link in the railway system of the country; and it would shorten the railway journey from Sheffield to Matlock or Buxton, and to all the stations between them.

In this part of the province we have two towns, Buxton and Matlock, not more than a mile from the boundary. Usually we have been able to define our provincial boundaries so that no important town lies close to them. But in the case of health and pleasure resorts such as these the position of such a boundary is of much less importance. They draw their support from the whole of the country, not from a limited area in the near neighbourhood as a local market town does. And in the suggested reconstruction of our major local government areas it is more important to obtain good boundaries in relation to industrial and agricultural areas than in relation to residential districts which are of less direct economic importance.

The unity of our Peakdon Province is entirely a modern growth. Its area was almost equally divided between the ancient counties of Yorkshire and Derbyshire. It is only since the beginning of the Industrial Age in the eighteenth century that Sheffield has become an important town; and the unity of the province is due to the predominance of one chief type of industry, iron- and steel-working, in the whole of its populous area, and the focusing of the whole province on its capital of Sheffield.

PROVINCE OF YORKSHIRE

THE Ancient County of York is by far the largest of English counties: so much so that even after its modern division into three Administrative Counties one of these, the West Riding, ranks first, and another, the North Riding, third among our modern counties. The West Riding includes less than half of the surface of the Ancient County of York; but it occupies a greater area than that of any other Ancient County; while the smallest of the three divisions, the East Riding, is considerably larger than the majority of those counties.

There were six of the Ancient Counties which occupied more than two thousand square miles of land, an area almost three times as great as that of an average Midland county such as Oxford or Warwick. These were Northumberland, Yorkshire, Cheshire (before the creation of Lancashire in A.D. 1377), Lincoln, Devon, and Norfolk. The great size of some of these shires is probably due largely to their remoteness from London and the less thorough organization of the territory from the capital, which was partly the result of the greater distance. The division of Mercia into shires on its reconquest from the Danes extended only as far to the north as the southern borders of Cheshire and Yorkshire. These districts submitted to the overlordship of the English kings at that time; but they do not seem to have been effectively incorporated into the Kingdom of England until some centuries later. Hence the area of the Anglian Kingdom of Deira (the southern part of Northumbria) and its successor, the Danish Kingdom of York, was not divided into shires like that of Mercia to the south of it. The use in parts of Yorkshire of district names to denote areas which are comparable to those of Midland shires may be suggestive of some attempt at such a division. The chief names of this kind which are still in use to some extent are those of the outlying marginal districts of Craven, Cleveland, Holderness, and Hallamshire. Our delimitation of provincial boun-

daries has allotted most of Craven to the Lancashire Province, Cleveland to the North Country, and Hallamshire to Peakdon; so leaving the main body of the Ancient County and its eastern districts to form our Yorkshire. This province thus consists of the Vale of York, the valleys sloping to that vale from the Pennines, and the land between it and the North Sea from the North Moors to the Humber, including the Vale of Pickering, the York Wolds, and Holderness. In both area and population it is somewhat larger than the average of our twelve English Provinces.

Nearly the whole of the land boundary of this Province of Yorkshire has already been described in relation to those provinces which border it on the north, west, and south-west. The remainder is only some fourteen or fifteen miles in length from the north-east border of Peakdon to the Humber estuary. This line, which marks off our Yorkshire from the East Midland Province, lies entirely in the marshland about the head of the Humber. It leaves the boundary of Peakdon almost due east of Doncaster, and thence bends to the north between the higher ground about Hatfield and the Isle of Axholme, over Hatfield Moor. North of this marsh it stretches between Thorne and Crowle over Thorne Moor, and thence passes directly to the Humber two miles below Goole. Except on the banks of the Humber this line does not pass close to any village, and most of the land near it is very thinly peopled. In this respect it is a great contrast to the county boundary between the West Riding and Lindsey, which is so drawn as to pass along the streets of all four of the villages north-east of Crowle, namely Adlingfleet, Garthorpe and Fockerby, Luddington, and Eastoft.

The population of this Yorkshire Province slightly exceeds three millions, which is made up of two-thirds of the inhabitants of the West Riding (the rest, over one and a quarter million being in the Peakdon Province and over a quarter of a million in the Lancashire Province), rather more than two-thirds of those of the North Riding, and the whole of the East Riding and the City of York. Within the province there is one area of dense industrial and urban population. This is in the south-west corner, in the valleys of the Aire and Calder; and it contains more than half of the total population. About a third of the remainder is in the City of Kingston-upon-Hull. The rest of the population of the province is largely agricultural; it is spread fairly evenly over the three lowland districts of Holderness and the Vales of York and Pickering.

The other parts of the province, the eastward slopes of the Pennines in the north-west, the York Wolds, and the southward slopes of the North York Moors, are very thinly peopled.

The Vale of York is the largest of the populous areas. It extends through the province along the Ouse Valley for about sixty miles from north to south, with a mean width of nearly thirty miles from west to east, ending northward in the contraction of the lowland in the Northallerton Gate, which connects it with the North Country, and southward in the corresponding contraction between the head of the Humber and the eastern foot of the Pennines. This southern gate was in earlier times occupied by undrained fens; and the main road from the south enters Yorkshire along its western edge, through Doncaster, Pontefract, and Castleford. This road, the Great North Road from London to Edinburgh, keeps to the western edge of the low-lying floodland of the Ouse, passing ten miles west of York, to leave this province just north of Scotch Corner in the western part of the Northallerton Gate. The main railway line, i.e. the corresponding modern road, keeps nearer to the centre of the vale, through Doncaster, Selby, York, and Northallerton. The Vale of York is the central section of the East Coast route from London to Scotland; and it is thus connected directly with the regions to north and south of it. But it is quite distinctly marked off to north and south; while to the south-west and north-east it is continuous with two of the other three populous areas of the Yorkshire Province. Only the fourth, Holderness in the south-east, is separated from the rest by any distinct barrier, the low and lightly settled Wolds.

The six largest towns in the province, with their populations at the 1951 census, are Leeds (504,954), Hull (299,068), Bradford (292,394), Huddersfield (129,021), York (105,336), and Halifax (98,376). Four of these, the first, third, fourth, and sixth, are parts of the West Yorkshire conurbation.¹ The second in size, Hull, is the eastward seaport of the industrial districts about the southern Pennines. Its economic hinterland includes these districts and a large part of the Midlands; while its relation to the East Riding, in which it is situated, is of less importance to it. To the agricultural population of Holderness, Hull is important chiefly as a large and accessible market for much of its produce, and a

¹ The West Yorkshire conurbation, as officially defined in 1951, had a population of 1,692,687 within an area of 481 square miles.

busy town which drains off many of the people. The city is situated on an alluvial site within the marshland, and is closely surrounded by an area of very scanty population. Around no other large town in England is the transition from urban to rural grouping of the people so sharply marked. The rest of the population of Holderness is settled along the foot of the Wolds, and focused on its market towns of Beverley and Driffield, or near the coast. Although Hull contains more than half the population of the East Riding, it is emphatically not a regional capital.

The regional focus of the province is Leeds, the chief node of the West Yorkshire conurbation. It contains nearly three-fifths of the population: 0.5 out of 1.7 millions. The ancient city of York gave its name to the shire, and was the county town before its division into three modern counties. It is still the seat of the Assizes for the East and North Ridings; but the West Riding has its own Assizes held at Leeds; while the county offices for the three Ridings are situated at Beverley, Northallerton, and Wakefield respectively. There is not, at present, any recognized capital of Yorkshire.

Hence for the capital of our Yorkshire Province the choice is only between Leeds and York. The latter city has the advantages of being nearer to the real centre of the province and of 2,000 years' standing as the chief city of the region. Leeds is the immediate focus of a population at least ten times as numerous as that focused on York, and it is almost the population centre of the province. It is also the seat of the largest university of the province, of the Press, and the chief commercial, financial, and social centre. Hence, in a distribution which aims at marking out provinces in relation to the present distribution of the population, Leeds is necessarily marked as the capital of the Yorkshire Province. The whole of the province is readily accessible from Leeds. Only two small areas lie outside the sixty-mile radius from that city. One of these is the eastward projection of Flamborough Head, east of Bridlington, and the other the south-eastern corner of Holderness, beyond Hedon to Spurn Head. Withernsea, in the latter area, is the only town in the province which is more than sixty miles from Leeds in a direct line.¹

¹ Fawcett's revised boundaries of 1942 (see Fig. 12, p. 163) added 700 square miles and 1.4 million inhabitants to the Yorkshire Province (see Appendix (a) and (b)). The area of Peakdon then allocated to the Yorkshire Province comprised the whole of its West Riding area, including Sheffield, and the north-eastern part of Derbyshire drained by the River Rother and its tributaries.

THE WEST MIDLAND (OR SEVERN) PROVINCE

THE north-western part of the English Midlands, between the southern limits of the Lancashire, Peakdon, and Yorkshire provinces to the north and a line drawn across the Fenland from the western corner of the Wash to the Northampton Heights, and thence along the Edge to the Cotswolds and westward across the Lower Severn, is here divided into two provinces. These might be known as the Severn and Trent provinces, each being named after the river which is its chief physical feature; however the alternative names West Midland and East Midland are now commonly used. In these provinces the areas of densest population are on or near the coal-fields. And here the coal-fields are associated with relatively high ground. Hence we find the largest area of dense population in the 'Black Country' about Birmingham, astride the main watershed. Similarly the 'Potteries' district stretches across the divide at the head of the Trent Valley, while the densely peopled areas around Charnwood Forest and the Wrekin are also on watersheds between lesser valleys. Under these conditions the boundaries of our Severn, or West Midland, Province cannot for the most part be drawn on main watersheds. In marking them out the distribution of population has been the deciding factor, and they cross the valleys to a considerable extent. The northern boundary between the Severn Valley and the Cheshire Plain follows the main divide; and that to the south-east between this and the Central Province is on the main watershed of England, between tributaries of the Severn and streams which flow to the Wash or the Thames. But to the north-east, between the Severn and Trent provinces, to the south, between this and the Bristol Province, and along the edge of the Welsh Upland to the west, our boundaries cut across main valleys, and in some places also cross smaller valleys. Many minor departures from watershed boundaries are also caused by the fact that in the English Lowland it is quite common to find a considerable village actually on the divide, a site not often occupied by towns or villages in

the northern half of the country. In the absence of any well-marked areas of separation such as those between the northern provinces, it is only possible to define these boundaries with sufficient precision for clear discussion by reference to minor physical features and to villages between which they pass.

Our West Midland Province includes almost the entire drainage area of the River Severn, which occupies three-fourths of its extent, from the boundary of the Welsh Province to the head of the Stratford Avon, and from the river-flats south of Tewkesbury to the northern watershed. It also includes to the north-east of this area a considerable part of the upper basin of the Trent, an extension determined by the fact that the dense population of the Birmingham district extends into the drainage area of that river. This area is limited approximately by a line drawn from the headwaters of the Stratford Avon north-westward to the neighbourhood of the Potteries.

The northern boundary has already been discussed in detail as the southern boundary of the Lancashire Province. The north-eastern boundary in its first section, from that of Lancashire to the River Trent, lies on the high ground of Needwood Forest, which is, for the most part, a scantily peopled area. It starts near Blithewood Moat, about two miles east of the River Tean and half a mile west of the Stoke to Derby railway. Thence it stretches directly south-eastward to the crest of Painley Hill, whence it keeps to the divide between the rivers Blithe and Dove, passing some three miles south of Uttoxeter, and between the villages of Newborough and Draycott-in-the-Clay, to Needwood. There it turns southward just west of Rangemore, and passes between Yoxall and Barton-under-Needwood, to reach the Trent marshes east of Wichnor and the river itself just to the west of Wichnor Bridges.

In its next section the line passes between the densely peopled areas on the Leicestershire coal-fields and that about Atherstone and Nuneaton, on the coal-field of East Warwickshire. Across the floodland of the Trent it follows a meander of the river to reach the opposite side of the valley a mile below the confluence of the Tame, where it meets the Derby-Stafford county boundary. It follows this boundary south-eastward for some two miles until the county line bends abruptly to the south. Here our boundary continues south-eastward round Lullington and between Clifton Campville and Chilcote to the higher ground east of the valley of the River Anker. On this it passes between Austrey and Norton-juxta-Twycross and between Orton and Twycross, and

reaches the small river Sence, which flows from Charnwood to the Anker, near Harris Bridge, between Sheepy Magna and Congerstone. Thence the line bends southward between Sheepy Parva and Sibson, and again south-eastward between Atterton and Upton, to reach the neighbourhood of the small coal-field about Hinckley, a mile north of Higham-on-the-Hill.

Hinckley itself is on the divide between the tributaries of the rivers Anker and Soar. Here the boundary is drawn west of this populous area so as to leave it to the East Midland Province, with which it has closer economic and historic association than it has with the Birmingham district. The line is drawn to the west of Higham and southward between Nuneaton and Hinckley, and thence again south-eastward between Burton Hastings and Burbage, and between Wolvey and Copston Magna (460 ft.) a mile and a half south-west of High Cross, where that road crosses Watling Street.

Here our boundary reaches the main divide which forms the eastern edge of the Severn river system, and for the rest of the eastern and south-eastern boundary of the province it lies close to this water-parting. At this eastern corner of the West Midland Province the boundary circles round the headwaters of the Stratford Avon. It passes south of the hamlet of Willey and turns eastward to cross Watling Street, and the Warwick-Leicester county line, half a mile north of Cross-in-Hand. Thence it lies on the northern and eastern edge of the valley of which Lutterworth is the market town: it passes just to the north of Gilmorton, to turn southwards above the source of the River Swift some two miles east of Walton. Thence it is drawn southward to cross the railway and the Grand Union Canal over the tunnel west of Husbands Bosworth; and south of that village it again bends south-eastward to reach the crest of the Northampton Heights half a mile south of Sibbertoft, where the watersheds of the rivers Avon, Welland, and Ise (tributary of the Nene) meet. This is also the meeting-point of our three Midland Provinces, Severn, Trent, and Central, and from here the boundary of the Severn Province stretches south-westwards along the 'Edge'.

From Sibbertoft the boundary stretches southward for three miles to the high ground about Naseby, and passes just east and south of that village, which is thus at the eastern extremity of the West Midland Province. Thence it is drawn along the divide, just to the north of Cold

Ashby, between Winwick and West Haddon, and thence south of Crick, Kilsby, and Barby, where the ridge is tunnelled by the Grand Union Canal and the former L. & N.W.R. South of Barby the line passes between Braunston and Welton, west of Daventry, and between Staverton and Badby to Arbury Hill. Here it bends westwards round the headwaters of the River Cherwell, across the tunnel between Hellidon and Charwelton, north of Priors Marston, and southwards between Wormleighton and Upper Boddington. For the next ten or twelve miles its course is very direct, along the crest of the scarp of which Edge Hill is the central portion. Beyond this the Edge is interrupted by the Vale of the Red Horse, in which the Warwickshire river Stour has cut far back into the Cotswold Upland. Here our boundary bends to the south round this vale. It turns southward on the crest south-east of Compton Wynyates and extends to Tadmarton Heath in an almost straight line for some five miles. Thence it is drawn westwards along the divide, passing between Whichford and Hook Norton, south of Long Compton and Barton-on-the-Heath, a mile north of Moreton-in-the-Marsh, where the ridge sinks to a col crossed by the Fosse Way and a branch of the old G.W.R., and between Blockley and Bourton-on-the-Hill to the crest of the Cotswolds above Broadway. From here the boundary follows this crest southward, crossing the col at the head of the Isbourne Valley south of Winchcomb. A mile south-west of this point the main crest becomes the boundary between the Bristol and Central provinces, and the southern boundary of West Midland Province leaves the Cotswolds along the spur north of Cheltenham, on the summit of Cleeve Common, and reaches the lowland by way of Nottingham Hill.

The southern boundary is drawn on the scantily peopled marshlands of the Lower Severn so as to lie between the well-peopled agricultural vales of Evesham and Worcester and the Hereford Basin to the north and the populous areas about Cheltenham, Gloucester, and the Forest of Dean coal-field to the south. Hence it crosses the valleys of the Severn and Wye and several smaller streams. From Nottingham Hill it is drawn westward between Gotherington and Bishop's Cleeve to reach the Severn a mile south of Haw Bridge. Thence it stretches directly across the marshland to Barrow Hill south of Hasfield and westward by Corse Wood Hill to reach the River Leadon south of Staunton, on the Worcester-Gloucester county boundary. Thence our line coincides with

the county boundary for a mile and a half up the Leaddon to the higher ground south of Pauntley. Here it strikes westward along the secondary divide between the Upper Leaddon and the Ell Brook, passing between Dymock and Newent, and between Kempley and Upton Bishop to reach the River Wye at the eastern end of the big incised meander north of Ross. Across the Wye Valley our boundary is drawn along the southern arm of this meander to its western end. Thence it follows a minor ridge westward to the north-east end of the ridge of Orcop Hill south of Brangwyn. From here the line is drawn south-westward along that ridge to Garway Hill and then directly across the River Monnow to its continuation in the higher ridge of Graig Serrerrthin, on the southern summit of which, at an altitude of 1,389 feet, it meets the suggested Anglo-Welsh border line. From here the boundary between our West Midland Province and Wales stretches westward along Campston Hill to cross the valley of the Monnow again south of Pandý; and thence it is drawn north-westward along the well-defined ridge of the eastern edge of the Black Mountain between the Olchon Valley and the Vale of Ewya. The rest of the western boundary is noted in Chapter 18 as part of the Anglo-Welsh boundary line.

The West Midland Province, within the boundaries described above, contains nearly four million inhabitants.¹ Of this population the City of Birmingham (1,112,340 in 1951) accounts for rather more than a quarter, while a third is found in the densely peopled area to the north, west, and south of Birmingham, within twenty miles of that city. The second area of dense population is also within twenty miles of Birmingham, in a narrow band stretching from Coventry by Nuneaton and Atherstone to Tamworth, which is separated from the main populous area only by an agricultural area in the upper part of the Tame Valley. There is still a third area of dense population on the coal-field near the Wrekin, from Coalbrookdale to Wellington. This relatively small area is some thirty miles from Birmingham. In the rest of the province the valleys are usually occupied by fairly dense agricultural population, except where the bottoms are very marshy, as in the Trent Valley near

¹ The increase in the population of this province since the first edition of this book has been remarkable, namely 38·4 per cent, from 2·8 millions to 3·9 millions: *see* Appendix, Table (b). As Fawcett modified the boundaries of the West Midland Province in 1942, it lost a little to the Central England Province but gained much more from that of Wales. *See* Figs. 11 and 12, pp. 162 and 163 and Appendix, Tables (a) and (b).

the junction of the Tame, the Severn Valley near to and below the confluence of the Avon, in each case on the boundaries of the province, and above the Wrekin gorge. The chief areas of agricultural importance are in three bands round the triangular area of dense industrial population about Birmingham, to the south-east along the valley of the Avon from Evesham to Rugby, to the west along the Severn from south of Worcester to the Wrekin, and to the north-east in the Upper Trent Valley from Lichfield to Stafford. All three find the chief market for their produce in the central industrial district.

All the populous areas so far mentioned are within a circle of radius thirty-five miles whose centre is Birmingham Town Hall: the population within this circle is not less than nine-tenths of that of the whole province. There are beyond this radius from the capital only two fairly populous areas, one in the south-west corner of the province in the Hereford Basin, and one in the north-west corner near the Welsh border north of the Severn. The rest of the province consists of lightly peopled uplands. The mean density of the province is rather less than that for England and Wales. Of the many considerable towns of the West Midland Province, only Shrewsbury, Hereford, and Oswestry are more than thirty miles from the capital, and no part of the province is sixty miles distant from Birmingham in a direct line. The pre-eminence of Birmingham as a railway centre has also ensured that every part of the province has relatively easy and direct railway connections with the capital. The one exception to this is found in the Vale of Red Horse in the Cotswolds, where Shipston-on-Stour has no rail connection with the rest of the province.

The unity of the West Midland Province is essentially a modern fact due to the development of Birmingham as a regional capital of the first rank. As a distinctive region it has become conscious of its unity only within the last hundred years. The only historic unit which occupied approximately the same area as this province was the short-lived English Mercia of the period during which Mercia was for a few years divided between the West Saxons and the Danes in the ninth and tenth centuries. It is significant evidence of the real unity of the region today that it has maintained its identity, as the West Midland Division or Region, in many national schemes of division—from those established under the Defence of the Realm Act of World War I down to that of the present Standard Regions (cf. Fig. 2, p. 39).

THE EAST MIDLAND (OR TRENT) PROVINCE

THE north-eastern part of the Midlands, north of a line from the Northampton Heights to the western corner of the Wash, forms our Trent,¹ or East Midland, Province. Rather more than half the area of this province, in its western and central portions, is in the drainage-area of the River Trent, while its eastern section consists of the projecting area of Lincolnshire between the Humber and the Wash, and in the south-east it includes the greater part of the valley of the River Welland. The Trent Valley is directly connected with that of Central Lincolnshire by the Lincoln Gap, through which the Trent possibly flowed at a recent period in the physical history of this river system. And this Trent-Witham Valley forms an easy natural route through the province from its western edge to the Wash.

Most of the land boundaries of this province have already been described in relation to the neighbouring provinces of Yorkshire, Peakdon, Lancashire, and West Midland. There remains the south-eastern boundary, which divides the Trent Province from Central England and East Anglia, and stretches for about fifty miles from near the source of the Welland to the Wash, with nearly half its length in the Fenland. Starting from the meeting-point of the three Midland provinces on the Northampton Heights, just south of Sibbertoft, this boundary is drawn north-eastwards along the divide between the tributaries of the rivers Welland and Nene. Its first section lies on the northern edge of the valley of the River Ise, passing south of East Farndon and

¹ In his revised map of Provinces in 1942, Professor Fawcett renamed this 'East Midlands': see Fig. 12, p. 163. The area of the 1942 Province is greater than that of 1919 by 20 per cent but its population is now nearly 50 per cent more than in 1911: see Appendix, Tables (a) and (b). Fawcett's East Midland Province broadly reappears as Standard Region III, 'North Midland', see Fig. 2, p. 39.

Braybrooke and a mile north of Desborough to the ridge of Rockingham Forest. Thence it stretches directly north-eastward, on the crest of the scarp overlooking the Welland Valley, to the end of the ridge a mile south of the village of Wakerley. From here the line is continued eastward across a small valley to Westhay Hill and thence north-eastward along the divide to Collyweston Hill, which it reaches about a mile to the south-east of Collyweston village. Thence it is continued down to the edge of the Fenland, passing two miles south of Stamford and reaching the low ground just north of the village of Bainton.

In the Fenland there are no valleys and no ridges. Bainton is fifty feet above sea-level and is about twenty-five miles from the Wash. Four miles east of this village the land surface is only twenty feet above mean sea-level; and between this point and the sea hardly any spot reaches this altitude. The land is intersected in all directions by artificial waterways or drains, without which it would be mere swamp; and these drains form the chief barriers in the country, since they are not easily crossed away from the causeways and bridges which carry the roads and railways. Hence across the Fenland our boundary is drawn along drains so as to interfere as little as possible with the ordinary routes. From north of Bainton it stretches eastward along a small drain to the southern angle of the Welland, the point whence that river itself flows in an entirely artificial channel. From here it follows the river until the latter turns northward in the New River channel four miles south of Spalding. Thence the boundary is drawn for a mile eastward along a minor channel to the southern end of the Moulton Mere Drain, along which it stretches between Spalding and Moulton to the estuary of the Welland in Moulton Marsh, whence it is drawn along that estuary to the sea.

The inhabitants of our East Midland Province number more than two and three quarter millions, but there is not here any one dominant centre of population such as those in and about the capitals of the West Midland and Northern provinces. The western third of the province, west of a line drawn approximately from Worksop to Market Harborough and passing a few miles to the east of Nottingham and Leicester, contains the southern end of the eastern Pennine coal-field and outliers of the same field in West Leicestershire. These coal-fields have determined the chief areas of high density of population. The

first, and most populous, of these extends along the north of the Middle Trent Valley from Nottingham to Derby, and sends three tongues northward, along the valleys of the rivers Leen, Erewash, and Derwent respectively, to the provincial boundary. The spaces between these northward projections are also densely inhabited, and the whole area, which forms a rough square whose sides are about twenty miles in length, with Nottingham and Derby in its south-eastern and south-western corners and its northern edge near the boundary between this and the Peakdon Province, contains over $1\frac{1}{4}$ million people or a little less than half the population of our East Midland Province, while it occupies somewhat less than one-twelfth of its area. The greater part of it is focused on the City of Nottingham at its south-eastern corner, where the routes of the Trent Valley and those from the Leen and Erewash valleys converge. In the south-west of the province there are three secondary areas of dense population which together contain about half as many people as the one just referred to. These lie respectively on the coal-field round Charnwood Forest, in the upper part of the Soar in and around Leicester, and about the small coal-field at Hinckley.

The western third of the province, with these areas of dense population, accounts for more than three-quarters of its population; while the uplands are comparatively empty.

The chief towns of this province present a marked contrast to those of its neighbours to the north and west in that they are 'old' towns, which already possessed a considerable local importance before the Industrial Revolution. Nottingham was the chief town of Anglian Southumbria; it has ever since been the principal town of the Trent Valley; and as it is still (with over 300,000 inhabitants) the largest city and chief centre of population in this region it has here been marked as the capital of the province. The whole of the populous areas are within a circle of radius thirty miles centred on Nottingham. Lincoln is on the edge of this circle, which includes at least seven-eighths of the population. Only a narrow strip of the coast is situated more than sixty miles from the capital; but this strip includes Grimsby, the fourth town of the province in population.

Of the five largest towns of this province today, four (Nottingham, Leicester, Derby, and Lincoln) were among the Five Boroughs which ruled the region when it was the central section of the Danish dominions

in England for nearly two centuries.¹ Grimsby, although it was a mediæval borough, acquired its importance as a port only in recent times. In this part of England, the East Midlands, the Industrial Revolution led to an increase in the importance of the older towns instead of to the growth of new cities; this was probably due chiefly to two facts. First, each of these towns had good water communications and, with the constructions of canals early in the Industrial Period, became a node on these new routes; second, the coal-fields here are smaller and more scattered than those further to the north and west and, in the case of Nottingham, the coal-field approaches quite close to the city. The most favourable site for the growth of a 'new' town, such as Birmingham or Manchester, was the southern end of the Erewash Valley; but this is within six miles of Nottingham, and the momentum of the pre-existing city was sufficient to focus the new routes, and the consequent growth, on it, and so to prevent the appearance of a rival there.

In comparison with the West Midland Province, that of East Midland may be said to possess much greater physical and historic unity, but distinctly less economic unity. The last fact is primarily a result of the relative equality of its principal towns. Although Nottingham is the chief centre of population, the number of people within the city boundary is only 7 per cent more than that of the inhabitants of Leicester, while Derby is nearly half as populous. Also each of these towns, as well as Lincoln to the east, has long been a place of considerable local and administrative importance; hence each has a long tradition of its own corporate life and independence. Grimsby, the other large town which shares such a tradition, is too remote from the rest to be anything but equally independent. The central position of Nottingham would probably enable it to unify the life of the province; but it is not likely to be able to dominate that life to any great extent. In this respect the East and West Midland provinces offer a strong contrast to each other, since the latter possesses an extremely dominant capital. The contrast would produce interesting differences between the two provinces if they ever become self-governing units.

¹ The fifth, Stamford, is still an important market town, though it is now one of the smaller towns of the province.

PROVINCE OF DEVON & CORNWALL.

THE south-western peninsula of England is quite distinctly marked out as a separate region by its peninsular form and its remoteness from the chief centres of population. Also it is severed from the comparatively populous lowland of Somerset, to the north-east of it, by the heights of Exmoor and the Brendon and Blackdown Hills, all of which are very thinly peopled. The Devonian peninsula beyond these heights contains rather more than a million people. Hence we have here marked it out as the Province of Devon. This province corresponds broadly to the joint area of the two counties of Cornwall and Devon; but its eastward boundary differs from that of Devonshire by including the whole of the valley of the River Exe and excluding that of the River Axe. It represents so obvious and simple an application of the principles with which we started that little need be said about it here.

The provincial boundary drawn across the base of the peninsula starts from the north coast at a point about a mile west of Culbone hamlet, west of Porlock Bay, and some two miles east of the present boundary between Devonshire and Somerset. Thence it is drawn southward over Culbone Hill and by Hawkcombe Head to the eastern end of Exmoor on the high moorland ridge between the headwaters of the River Exe and those of the small streams which flow to the Bristol Channel. On this ridge it is drawn eastward to a point half a mile west of Dunkery Beacon. From this point the line stretches south-eastwards to Lype Hill, the westernmost of the Brendon Hills, across the gap between Exmoor and the Brendons. Through this gap the boundary keeps to the watershed except for a short distance south of Wheddon Cross, which is on the divide, where it bends so as to leave the whole of that village to the north. From Lype Hill the line stretches

eastward along the crest of the Brendons to a point just west of the source of the River Tone.

In its next section the boundary crosses the broad opening which connects the Vale of Taunton Deane with the lowland of East Devon, between the Brendon and Blackdown Hills. This gate through the hills is the only lowland route from Devon to the main mass of England. Its minimum altitude is over three hundred feet above sea-level, and it is largely occupied by a number of irregular heights of twice that elevation. It is a fairly well-peopled agricultural area, a strong contrast in this respect to the almost empty moorlands along the rest of the boundary. This gateway has always been the route of the chief land ways to and from the peninsula. At the present day it is traversed by the chief highroads and two of the three railways which connect Devon with the rest of England, the main line of the Western Region Railway and its branch from Taunton to Barnstaple. In it our boundary keeps near the very irregular line of the waterparting between the Rivers Exe and Tone. It is drawn southward from Brendon Hill along the western edge of the upper part of the valley of the Tone to cross the railway just east of Venn Cross Station. From here it coincides with the county boundary for some three miles further southward. Then it again bends to the south-east, passing half a mile to the north of Holcombe Rogus, over the main line of the railway in the tunnel between Burlescombe and Sampford Arundel, to the west end of the Blackdowns.

The third section of the boundary is, like the first, along the crest of high and almost uninhabited moorlands. It stretches eastward along the crest of the Blackdown Hills to the western foot of Staple Hill. Thence it turns southward along the high and narrow ridge which forms the eastern limit of the valley of the River Otter as far as Farway Hill. From Farway Hill the line is drawn directly southward to reach the coast at the cliffs above Weston Ebb, some three miles east of Sidmouth.

The great majority of the 1·1 million inhabitants of our Devon Province dwell in the valleys which open out to its south coast. The Cornish mining district in the south-west and the coast near it, from Truro to Penzance, is also relatively thickly peopled. The small valleys of the north coast contain altogether not more than a twentieth of the population. And the interior is, for the most part, very thinly peopled,

The only large town in the peninsula is Plymouth, which contains rather less than a fifth of the population within its boundaries, since the amalgamation of the 'Three Towns', and is near the centre of the populous south coast. Hence we have marked Plymouth as the capital. Exeter was the place of entry and the administrative capital of the Roman, West Saxon, and Norman rulers of the peninsula. Plymouth has grown up as the native centre; and the heroes of Devon are much more naturally associated with it than with Exeter, which has little more than one-third of the population of Plymouth. The sixty-mile circle round Plymouth includes practically the whole of the province. To the north it passes through Lundy Island; to the north-east it passes almost along the land boundary, just leaving a small coastal strip north of Exmoor and a still smaller corner near Staple Hill outside. In the opposite direction only the Land's End peninsula and the Scilly Isles are more than sixty miles from the capital. The only towns outside the circle are Penzance and Lynton, at opposite extremes of the province.

The most distinctive facts about this Province of Devon in comparison with the rest of our provinces are its physical unity and separateness from the rest, due to its peninsular form and its position, and its remoteness from the great centres of population; the last is indeed a chief cause of its distinctness in popular feeling and tradition. It may be realized to some slight extent from a study of the following figures of distances by rail:

	<i>Miles</i>				
London to Bristol	..	..	..	..	117½
Bristol to Plymouth	..	..	..	..	127¼
London to Plymouth	..	..	..	..	226½
Southampton to Plymouth	..	..	..	..	172¼

These factors of remoteness and unity form amply sufficient justification for the recognition of this peninsula as a separate province, in spite of the fact that, with an area a little more and a population a little less than half those of Wales, it is (with East Anglia) the least populous of all our provinces.

PROVINCE OF WESSEX

IN THE South Country the natural region of which the Hampshire Basin is the central area form our province of Wessex. The limits of this province are so drawn as to include in it the whole of the Hampshire Basin and the lands which slope to it, i.e. the drainage area of the streams flowing to the depression which forms the axis of the basin; this stretches for some eighty miles eastward from the head of the Dorset River Frome along the Vale of Dorset and through Bournemouth Bay and the channels between the Isle of Wight and the mainland to Selsey Bill. Our Wessex also includes the fragments of land between the southern edge of the basin and the English Channel, in the isles of Wight, Purbeck, and Portland, and three other small regions which are naturally associated with it, in West Dorset, the Vale of Blackmoor and the Selsey Plain.

The lowland of West Dorset, in the valleys of the River Char and the streams which meet near Bridport, lies between the Hampshire Basin and the Devon peninsula; it is completely enclosed by the sea and the Dorset Heights to the north and east of it; but its direct communications by road and rail and its associations connect it primarily with the land to the east. At present the railway reaches only its eastern end, at Bridport; but there is no physical obstacle to its extension westwards as far as Charmouth, through the Vale of Marshwood, so strengthening the association of this area with Dorchester and the east; while there are very considerable physical difficulties in the way of direct railway communication in any other direction. To the west of this lowland the small port and seaside resort of Lyme Regis is more directly connected with the valley of the River Axe to the north of it than with any area to the east. One result of this is that it was formerly in the Registration County of Devon, although

in the Ancient and Administrative Counties of Dorset.¹ The direct distance from Bridport to Lyme Regis is $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the distance by road is 9 miles, but by railway, via the junctions at Maiden Newton, Yeovil, and Axminster, no less than $50\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The direct connections of Lyme Regis with the north and the difficulty of those to the east have led us to draw the western boundary of Wessex just to the east of that town, between it and Charmouth.

The second of these smaller regions, the Vale of Blackmoor, lies to the north-west of the Hampshire Basin, beyond the Chalk of the Dorset Downs and Cranborne Chase. It is drained by the Dorset river Stour south-eastward through the gap in the Downs above Blandford, which is one of the chief routes from and to the vale. A second route is formed by the Vale of Wardour, which stretches eastward from near the head of the Vale of Blackmoor to Salisbury. Each of these routes is followed by lines of road and railway which connect Blackmoor with the central area of our Wessex, and each is also occupied by a continuous band of population; this is denser along the Stour than in the Vale of Wardour. Between the Vale of Blackmoor and the Somerset Lowland to the north-west of it, the divide is very irregular and in some places indefinite. The higher ground is here thinly peopled, as elsewhere. But the marshy character of the valley bottoms on each side has led to the concentration of the population, which is mainly agricultural, on the lower slopes. Hence the market towns are frequently located near the heads of the smaller valleys, and so very near to each other on opposite sides of the divide; thus the direct distance from Sturminster Newton to Sherborne is nine miles, while those from Wincanton to Castle Cary and Bruton are respectively five and four miles, and the last two towns are only three miles apart. The importance of the routes connecting the Vale of Blackmoor with the Hampshire Basin, and its historic and literary associations, have led us to include it in this province. But the barrier areas between it and the rest of our Wessex are more formidable, though less continuous, than those which separate it from the Bristol Province, and it might be almost as naturally associated with the latter, especially as the City of Bristol is somewhat nearer than Southampton and is a more important regional capital.

¹ Lyme Regis now falls within the Registration District of Bridport (Dorsetshire).

The third of the small regions which we have grouped with the Hampshire Basin in our Wessex is the coastal plain of South-west Sussex, about Chichester, including the projecting area of Selsey. The frontier between the Early English kingdoms of Wessex and Sussex in this area was formed by the marshes which stretched back from the inlets of Langstone and Chichester harbours to the foot of the South Downs. This strip of coastal plain is now well drained and cultivated, and is so far from being a barrier that it carries the chief roads and railway along the south coast. It is a densely peopled area, and the road by the heads of its inlets, from Fareham to Chichester, is almost a continuous 'High Street' for a series of small towns. East of Chichester there is a distinct break in this series, and hence we have drawn our boundary across the plain just to the east of the immediate market area of the City of Chichester.

The land boundary of the Province of Wessex starts in the west at the cliffs between Charmouth and Lyme Regis and stretches north by west for nearly three miles on the ridge between the valleys which open to the sea at these places. This ridge is nowhere less than 450 feet above sea-level; and it joins the main ridge of the West Dorset Heights in Raymond's Hill, which overlooks the valley of the River Axe from an altitude of 725 feet. From this hill our boundary trends eastward along the divide between the streams of West Dorset and the tributaries of the Axe, passing north of the village of Marshwood, between Stoke Abbott and Broadwindsor, and then along the northern edge of the valley of Beaminster. Thence it is continued eastwards along the Downs, crossing the railway where it tunnels the ridge north of Evershot Station, to Batcombe Hill. Here the line bends sharply to the north to follow the divide between the rivers of the Vale of Blackmoor and those of Somersetshire.

From Batcombe Hill the boundary is drawn northward, just east of Hillfield village, along the divide to a point about midway between Holnest and Long Burton. Here our line leaves the waterparting for a short distance and stretches directly north-eastward to meet it again on the high ground north of Bishop's Caundle. In this stretch the boundary is drawn in the marshland rather than on a very indefinite divide which actually passes through two villages and within a mile of the market town of Sherborne. From here the boundary again coincides with the waterparting: it passes west of Stourton Caundle,

nearly midway between Stalbridge and Milborne Port, crosses the old London and South Western Railway rather more than a mile west of Temple Combe Junction, and then passes between Holton and Maperton to the hill south of Bratton Seymour. Thence the line stretches directly north-eastward over the gap in the ridge at the northern end of the vale to the outlying hills off the western end of the Chalk upland. In this gap it crosses the railway linking Somerset and Dorset a mile north of Wincanton; and it reaches the heights at Aaron's Hill, two miles west of Stourton.

In its next section the boundary lies along the hills to the west of Salisbury Plain. From Aaron's Hill it stretches along the ridge west of Kilminster to Mapperton Hill. Thence it passes west and north of the village of Maiden Bradley, which is situated on the divide near the source of the River Wylye, and thence northward east of Horningsham and between Crockerton and Longleat to Cley Hill, some two miles west of Warminster. Here the boundary comes to the gap in the ridge, between Warminster, in the valley of the Wylye, which flows to the Salisbury Avon, and Westbury, in that of a small tributary of the Bristol Avon, through which pass the most direct routes by road and rail between the Hampshire Basin and Bristol. The two market towns are barely four miles apart, and between them the village of Upton Scudamore is actually on the divide in a band of moderately populous land which unites the two valleys. Across the gap our boundary is drawn to the north of Warminster from Cley Hill to Arn Hill Down.

Warminster is probably more closely associated with Bristol in its traditional and modern economic relations than it is with any other important regional focus; and it is at the end of a tongue of denser population thrust out from the Bristol region through the gap. Yet if this town were to be placed in the Bristol Province it would be necessary to draw a boundary across the Wylye Valley, a course which would give rise to considerable immediate difficulties and lead to further difficulties in provincial administration. The position of Warminster between the Wessex and Bristol provinces is doubtful, and should be decided finally by local opinion; but it would probably be better for all concerned that it should be in Wessex.

For the fifty-odd miles eastward from this Warminster Gap to that of the Loddon, in the neighbourhood of Basingstoke, the northern boundary of our Wessex is drawn on the higher northern edge of the

Chalk plateau of Salisbury Plain and the Hampshire Downs. For almost the whole of this distance it lies on a thinly peopled open downland; only where it crosses the few valleys which cut through the crest does it come near to enclosed and fairly populous areas. From north of Warminster the line stretches eastward along the divide between the valleys of Salisbury Plain and the Vale of Pewsey on the crest of the Downs, overlooking the series of large scarp-foot villages, at the southern edge of the vale, to reach the Avon where its valley is narrowed opposite Chisenbury Camp, a mile south of Upavon. Thence it continues eastward along the crest to cross the head of the Bourne Valley two miles north of Collingbourne Kingston. From here it passes south of Tidcombe village, and thence along the crest to Inkpen Hill, the highest point of the Downs. Eastward from Inkpen Hill the boundary is continued on the well-defined crest south of the Vale of Kennet between Combe and the Woodhays, to cross the gap used by the Didcot, Newbury, and Southampton railway between Litchfield and Burghelere, a mile south of the latter station, to a point about a mile to the south of Kingsclere, whence it turns south-eastward across the Loddon Gap, which connects Wessex with the London Basin.

Across the Loddon Gap our boundary is drawn north of Hannington village, between the hamlets of Ibworth and Upper Wootton, and west of Wootton St. Lawrence and Cliddesden to Farleigh Hill. It thus passes some three miles west of Basingstoke, between Church Oakley and Worting, and crosses the main line from London to Salisbury about three miles west of Basingstoke Station and nearly a mile east of the junction for Winchester.

From Farleigh Hill the eastern boundary of the Province of Wessex is drawn southward to Butser Hill in the South Downs, two and a half miles south-west of Petersfield, along a direct distance of some twenty miles. In this stretch it lies on the high eastern edge of the Hampshire Downs, on the crests whence that plateau falls away steeply to the Weald; it keeps near the divide between the Hampshire rivers Itchen and Meon to the west, and the rivers Wey and Rother of the western end of the Weald to the east. From Farleigh Hill the line is drawn south-eastward between Ellisfield and Herriard and then southward between Bradley and Lasham and between Medstead and Bentworth to cross the Winchester-Alton railway half a mile east of Medstead station. Thence it is continued to cross the Meon Valley line half-way

between Privett and East Tisted. From here it stretches south-eastward to Warren Corner, thence south-westward by Stoner Hill and along the ridge between Froxfield and Langrish, and thence across the gap between East Meon and Langrish, by Barrow Hill and Ramsdean Down, to Butser Hill. This last gap is the only place in which this section of the boundary passes through a moderately populous area; elsewhere it lies on very thinly peopled crests.

From Butser Hill the line is drawn for some fifteen miles eastward along the crest of the South Downs, on a strip of open and unpeopled upland. A mile and a half east it crosses the Portsmouth direct line of the Southern Region Railway over the tunnel south of Buriton; and further east it crosses the Chichester and Midhurst line over the tunnel south of Cocking village in the Cocking Gap. Five miles east of this gap the scarp of the Downs bends sharply southwards on Barlavington Down, west of Sutton. Here our boundary also bends southwards and leaves the Downs to stretch across the coastal plain to the sea. From Barlavington Down the line is drawn southward by the spur of Nore Hill to reach the plain between the foothill villages of Eartham and Slindon. Thence it crosses the plain in a direction slightly west of south, passing between Aldingbourne and Westergate to reach the sea between Pagham and Aldwick. This line crosses the south coast railway about two miles west of Barnham Junction. East of it the coastal plain is narrow and is connected with London to the north, through several gaps in the Downs, of which the Arun Gap is the westernmost. Our line crosses the plain approximately midway between Chichester and Arundel, and reaches the sea west of the suburbs of Bognor. This watering-place is economically a part of that London-by-the-Sea which stretches along most of the coast of Sussex, Kent, and Essex; and hence it is best left in the London Province.

The Province of Wessex within the boundaries which have just been described,¹ contains a population of a little more than one and a half millions.² Of this number rather more than a third is included in

¹ In the 1942 map several minor changes were made to the boundary of this province. Small areas in the extreme west of Dorset and round Wincanton in Somerset were reallocated to the Bristol Province. A small area round Devizes was included in Wessex and the boundary was redrawn to follow a more direct east-west line excluding the minor area of Berkshire formerly included in Wessex.

² The population of the Wessex Province increased by 36·7 per cent between 1911 and 1951. See Appendix (b), p. 176.

the three large towns of Portsmouth, Southampton, and Bournemouth. Hence the greater part of the province is very thinly peopled. There are only two small areas in which the density of population reaches over 350 per square mile, less than half the average density for England and Wales, which was 750 per square mile in 1951. The larger and more important of these is a strip of land extending from Winchester down the Itchen Valley and thence from Southampton south-eastward to beyond Chichester, over a distance of more than thirty miles, with a width of from one to four miles. This area from Winchester to Chichester, if we include in it Southampton and Portsmouth, occupies no more than a fortieth of the area, but contains more than a third of the population of the province. The second area of dense population is formed by the series of seaside resorts on the east and south-east coasts of the Isle of Wight from Ryde to Ventnor. Apart from these two areas and the neighbourhoods of Bournemouth and Weymouth there is a fairly dense agricultural population in the valleys along all the larger streams. This forms bands along the Test from Andover southwards and along the Avon below Salisbury, the Frome east of Dorchester, and the Stour below Blandford. Above the Blandford Gap the Stour Valley widens into the Vale of Blackmoor, which is similarly well peopled, while in West Dorset the valleys about Bridport have also a similar density of population. For the rest, the Chalk uplands, which occupy nearly half the area of the province, and the numerous heathlands, of which the New Forest is the largest, are very lightly peopled.

Of the three large towns of Wessex, Southampton (178,326 in 1951) is by far the most central in respect of all three factors of area, distribution of population, and communications. Hence it is here marked as the capital, although Portsmouth (233,464) is the largest town. Each of the three is directly connected with, and chiefly dependent on, interests outside Wessex. They serve the country as a whole, rather than this province alone. Portsmouth is the chief naval base and dockyard town. Bournemouth (144,726) is a residential and health resort, comparable to Nice on the Riviera. Southampton is a great commercial seaport whose economic hinterland includes London and the Midland industrial areas, and it has become a centre of industries which include oil refining as well as ship-repairing and various light industries. No one of these towns is intimately associated with the life

of the agricultural population. And the historic and administrative importance of the ancient cities of Winchester, Salisbury, Dorchester, and Chichester, together with the nearness and overwhelming prestige and attraction of London, has so far effectively prevented the development of any one regional capital in the Hampshire Basin. Hence there is no such definite centre of provincial life and organization as those possessed by the provinces of Industrial England. None the less Wessex is a well-marked natural region, with a very considerable regional consciousness and patriotism, which in its modern revival owes much to the writings of Thomas Hardy.¹ It is the most distinctive province of the south-eastern half of the English Lowland. In it Southampton is one of the oldest English towns, and the one which has given its name to the central shire and to the natural region of the Hampshire Basin; so that it is fitted by tradition as well as by present conditions to become an active capital for Wessex.

¹ See H. C. Darby, 'The regional geography of Thomas Hardy's Wessex', *The Geographical Review*, New York, XXXVIII (1948).

THE BRISTOL PROVINCE

THE districts round the Severn Estuary, together with the Somerset Plain, including the area drained by the Bristol Avon, have long been known to their inhabitants, and to many people in other parts of the English Lowland, as a distinctive region, under the name 'West of England', with a definite regional capital in the old city of Bristol. This city, like Nottingham, has been able, by means of its position on the waterways and its nearness to small coal-fields, to retain and even to increase its relative importance in the region throughout the changes of the Industrial Revolution. During the later Middle Ages it was the third city of England, holding a place in the west of the lowland analogous to that of London in the east (cf. Fig. 6, p. 55). In 1951 it was still the seventh city in order of population, having been out-grown by the five 'new' cities of Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, and Leeds. It has also been passed by the group of Tyneside towns, which is somewhat more populous than that along the Bristol Avon. In this case the strength of tradition, geographical momentum, and modern economic importance accentuated during World War II, combine to make Bristol one of the strongest regional capitals in England. And it is here indicated as the capital of the Bristol Province, which includes the central parts of the 'West of England' region. This province includes the populous areas on each side of the Severn Estuary, in the Forest of Dean and the southern Cotswolds, with the vales of Berkeley and Gloucester between them, together with the diversified country which extends from the shore of the Bristol Channel to the edge of the Chalk uplands of Wessex, and two smaller areas, the Vale of Pewsey in the east and the valley of the River Axe in the south, which are more naturally connected with this province than with any other.

Most of the boundaries of this Bristol Province have already been described in relation to the three neighbouring provinces of Devon to the south-west, Wessex to the south-east, and West Midland (Severn) to the north. The remaining sections are the eastern boundary, between this and the Central Province, and its boundary with Wales to the north-west.

The eastern boundary follows in general the watershed between the drainage-area of the Bristol Avon and other streams which flow westward to the Bristol Channel and that of the River Thames. The line starts in the north on the crest of the Cotswolds, some four miles east of Cheltenham, and is drawn southward across the col through which the road and railway pass eastward from that town. Thence it follows the scarp westward for about four miles to Leckham Hill, about three miles south of Cheltenham. From here the line is drawn southward along the main divide of England, which here leaves the Cotswold scarp. Our line is drawn along the spur between the upper valleys of the rivers Frome (of Stroud) and Churn to the hill ridge in Sapperton Park. From here it crosses the Thames and Severn Canal and the railway over the tunnels in which they pass the divide south of Sapperton, and thence stretches southward and south-eastward across the lower land near the very indefinite divide which separates the Vale of Malmesbury from the Upper Thames Basin. In this stretch it passes between the villages of Cherington and Rodmarton, southward between Tetbury and Ashley, and then east of Long Newnton and between Charlton and Hankerton to Stone Hill, two and a half miles east of Charlton. Thence it stretches directly south-eastward by way of Worthy Hill to Hook Hill, one and a half miles north of Wootton Bassett. From there it passes a mile east of Wootton Bassett and about four miles west of Swindon to reach the scarp of the Downs just east of Bincknoll. Along this scarp the boundary is drawn south-westward and southward round the head of the Kennet Valley to Oldbury Hill and Bishop's Cannings Down. Here it reaches, and turns eastward along, the scarp which forms the northern edge of the Vale of Pewsey. It follows this for some nine or ten miles eastward and then turns south across the head of the vale east of Wootton Rivers and between Easton and Burbage to Easton Hill, where it meets the northern boundary of Wessex. This eastern boundary was straightened somewhat in the 1942 revision so that a more direct line separated Bristol Province from Central Province in the county of Wiltshire.

The north-western section of the boundary, between the Bristol Province and Wales, leaves the boundary of the Severn Province at the southern summit of Graig Serrerthin and is drawn thence southward to the Severn Estuary west of the valley of the lower Wye, so leaving more than three-fourths of Monmouthshire, with about nine-tenths of its population, to Wales. From Graig Serrerthin it stretches south by east on the crest of the ridge just west of the Monnow River to King's Wood, two miles west of Monmouth. South of this point the ridge is interrupted by the passage of the small River Tothy through it; and our boundary is drawn directly across the gap, passing west of Wonastow, to its continuation southwards. Thence the line keeps to the crest by Trelleck Hill, passing Trelleck Cross, and just east of Devauden, whence it stretches westward on the summit of a steep-sided narrow ridge for some four miles. From this point the ridge trends southwards, but here the boundary leaves it along a spur, which stretches a little east of south through Wentwood, and reaches the coastal lowland between Llanvaches and Penhow, whence it is continued directly to the Severn Estuary between Roggiett and Undy, crossing the railway a mile west of Severn Tunnel Junction, approximately half-way between Chepstow and Newport and Bristol and Cardiff. Our boundaries have thus been drawn through Monmouthshire so as to leave only the eastern fringe of that county, along the valleys of the Monnow and the Wye, to England in the West Midland (Severn) and Bristol Provinces. West Monmouthshire contains the eastern part of the South Wales coal-field and is very definitely a part of that region. The boundary we have just described keeps to the most thinly peopled strip of land between the areas of denser population about the Forest of Dean and in South Wales.

The population of our Bristol Province within these limits is rather more than one and a half millions. Nearly half of this is contained in the urban tract in the centre of the province which stretches along the Avon from its mouth up to Bradford in Wiltshire, a distance of some twenty-five miles. At present this one conurbation is locally governed by no less than five county authorities, in the county boroughs of Bath and Bristol and the administrative counties of Gloucester, Somerset, and Wiltshire.

In the northern part of the province there are four small areas of corresponding density of population about the towns of Gloucester

and Cheltenham, on the Forest of Dean coal-fields, and in the valleys about Stroud, Dursley, and Nailsworth in the southern Cotswolds. Cheltenham is in the north-eastern corner of the province, within five miles of the boundary to the north and east. This town is of the same class and general character as Buxton and Matlock in the north. As a residential and educational centre it depends upon the whole country and not on its own neighbourhood; hence the position of a provincial boundary in relation to it is of little direct importance. All these populous areas are more accessible from and more easily associated with Bristol than any other regional capital of equal importance.

In the rest of the province there are well-peopled agricultural areas in the valleys round the Forest of Dean, along the western foot of the Cotswolds from Cheltenham to Bristol, and in the upper valleys of the Bristol Avon and its tributaries from Tetbury to Frome. This last area extends eastward to Devizes, the market town of the Vale of Pewsey, which is almost on the watershed between the Bristol and Salisbury Avons. Most of this vale is drained southward by the latter river, but this connection to the west, combined with the fact that it is surrounded on the other three sides by unpeopled downland areas, determines the association of the Vale of Pewsey with the Bristol Province.

In the south the Somerset Lowland is in general a fenland dotted with numerous 'island' hills of moderate altitude. The older market towns and villages are mostly situated on the lower slopes of these hills or round the inner edges of the lowland. Here the marshy flats and the higher parts of the hills are alike very thinly peopled, and the population of this prosperous agricultural region is mainly in a fringe round the plain and on island hills in it. The patches of greatest density are at the southern foot of the Mendips in the north about Wells, in the upper part of the Vale of Taunton to the south-west, and in the south from Chard and Ilminster to Yeovil. The last two reach low watersheds. The market town of Chard is on the low waterparting between the Somerset Plain and the valley of the River Axe to the south, in a gap which is the easiest natural route into that valley by land. The Axe Valley as a whole has much easier connections to the northward than it has either westward or eastward; and this, together with the extension of a fairly dense population over its northern watershed, has led us to include it in the Bristol Province rather than

in Devon or Wessex. The whole valley as far south as the coast of the English Channel is nearer to, and more directly accessible from, Bristol than either Plymouth or Southampton.

The long-standing economic importance of Bristol as the chief town and port of the 'West of England' has made it the chief railway centre in that region. Hence nearly all parts of the province are readily accessible from the capital. The whole province is within a sixty-mile circle round Bristol City, and most of it is within thirty miles. The circumference of a circle of thirty miles' radius whose centre is in Bristol passes north of Monmouth and the Forest of Dean, and near to Gloucester, Wootton Bassett, Devizes, and Bridgwater. The one place of importance not connected with the capital by railways within the province is Tetbury: and here a short link of five miles of new line along the valley from Malmesbury would effect the connection.

PROVINCE OF EAST ANGLIA

THIS province consists essentially of the region which was the ancient Kingdom of East Anglia, i.e. the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the Fenland, which was the frontier between that of East Anglia and the contemporary Kingdom of Mercia. Its western boundary is drawn on the low ridge at the western edge of the Fenland, and its southern boundary on the somewhat higher eastward continuation of the Chiltern Hills between the Fenland and the London Basin, and then between the valleys of the rivers Stour and Colne to the estuary of the Stour. The north-western boundary has already been described in relation to the East Midland Province.

The western boundary, between this and the Central Province, starts in the north from Collyweston Hill, on the boundary of the Trent Province in the north-east corner of the county of Northampton; thence it stretches south-eastward for two and a half miles and then turns east by Old Sulehay Forest to cross the River Nene between Wansford and Yarwell. Immediately east of the valley it is drawn southward, passing half a mile west of Wansford Station, along the ridge which here forms a secondary waterparting at the edge of the Fenland, reaching from the Nene to the gap in which the River Ouse cuts through this ridge just east of Huntingdon. This is a low, flat-topped limestone ridge, for most of its length less than 200 feet in height, but rising almost 150 feet above the fertile and often marshy valleys at each side. The summit itself is thinly peopled; but the swampy character of the low ground has led to most of the dwellings being built along the foot of the ridge, the edges of which are marked by lines of villages. Our boundary stretches south by east between these lines, passing between Chesterton and Elton, Morborne and Warmington, Sawtry and the Giddings, and the Riptons and Stukeleys,

to reach the Ouse between Wyton and Hartford, about two miles east of Huntingdon. South of the river-gap the boundary reaches the ridge again between Hemingford Abbots and Godmanchester. From here to the Chilterns, along the ridge, is a direct distance of about twenty miles. Our boundary keeps to the higher ground and passes west of Graveley, and then between Yelling and Toseland, Eltisley and Croxton, and Bourn and Gransden to the higher ground (over 250 feet) which rises midway between the valleys of the rivers Cam and Ouse. Thence it passes west of Long Stowe and east of the Hatleys to the edge of the higher ground at Croydon Hill, between Croydon and East Hatley. South of this hill our boundary comes to the low land between the headwaters of the rivers Rhee and Ivel. Here the villages of Eyworth, Dunton, and Hinxworth are situated on the divide. Our line is drawn east of these, passing west of Guilden Morden, to reach Newnham Hill, on a spur of the Chilterns; it is thence drawn along this spur to the crest of the main ridge, where it meets the northern boundary of the London Province. The southern half of this western boundary, from the River Ouse to the Chiltern Hills, lies approximately midway between Cambridge and Bedford; and it is nowhere very far from the boundary between those counties, which zigzags from side to side of the watershed.

The southern boundary of East Anglia, between it and the London Province, trends eastward along the watershed between the streams which flow to the Wash and those which flow to the Thames. In the south-west corner of the province, the villages of Kelshall, Therfield, and Reed are on the divide. Here our boundary is drawn just to the south of these villages so as to leave them in the same province as their market town of Royston. The line stretches eastward from the crest between Kelshall and Sandon, passing between Reed and Buckland to reach the divide again to the north of Barkway. Thence it passes between Chishall and Langley and bends south-eastward between Arkesden and Clavering to pass round the headwaters of the River Cam. To keep to the actual divide here would involve making a long and very narrow projection southward and following a very sinuous course round the small market town of Saffron Walden. Hence in this neighbourhood again our boundary is determined by the waterparting only in its general trend. It passes southward from Clavering Hill for about two miles, and then turns east between

Quendon and Ugley, trends north-eastward between Widdington and Henham, and turns northward a mile east of Debden hamlet. It then passes to the west of Wimbish and again turns to the east about three miles east of Saffron Walden to the divide between the headstreams of the rivers Stour and Colne. It passes half a mile north of Ridgewell and then stretches south-eastward on the relatively thinly peopled ridge between the valleys of the Stour and Colne to the head of the estuary of the River Stour, two miles north-west of Manningtree. From here to the sea the boundary is drawn along the estuary, thus leaving the packet station of Harwich in the extreme north-eastern corner of the London Province.¹

This province of East Anglia is mainly an agricultural region; in it there is no great conurbation and no area of very dense population comparable to those in which we found the bulk of the people of each of the provinces hitherto considered. Although this is, in area, one of the largest of these Provinces of England, it is very nearly the least populous (*see* Fig. 13, p. 174), containing rather less than one and a half million people; and it has indeed the lowest density of population. The greater part of its population is settled in the valleys which open to the east coast, from that of the Stour northward. This eastward slope from the East Anglian Heights occupies a little more than half the area of the province. The shorter westward slope to the Fens and the Fenland itself are less thickly peopled and, though the valley of the River Cam, above Cambridge, contains the most densely peopled area in the whole of the province, the total population to the west of the heights is little more than half of that on the eastward slopes and the east coast, while the East Anglian Heights themselves are an area of scanty population.

The province contains only two towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants, and only three others whose populations exceed 50,000. Its seven largest towns, with their populations in 1951, are: Norwich (121,226), Ipswich (104,788), Cambridge (81,465), Peterborough

¹ The boundaries described are those given by Fawcett in 1919 and they were only slightly modified in his 1942 map (Fig. 12, p. 163. In the 1942 modification East Anglia lost small areas of north-western Huntingdon and Cambridgeshire to the East Midland Province and a small part of Essex to that of London. It gained however from the Central Province the entire area of Huntingdon and Cambridgeshire that was formerly assigned to that province and small parts of north-eastern Bedfordshire.

(53,412), Great Yarmouth (51,105), Lowestoft (42,837), and King's Lynn (26,173); and these contain jointly less than a third of its people. Of these towns, Yarmouth and Lowestoft owe a great part of their size to their modern development as fishing ports and seaside resorts; Cambridge and Peterborough are important market centres of the Fenland, which owe their excess of population over other corresponding market towns in the first case to the University and some specialized industries and in the second to the British Railways works established there. Norwich, Ipswich, Cambridge, and Peterborough are all county towns and local centres of considerable importance, but of these the last three are situated in corners of the province, while Norwich is at once its largest town and the focus of its most populous section. The City of Norwich has long been the ecclesiastical capital of East Anglia; and it is still the chief town of the region, as the principal market and the most important manufacturing town. Hence it has been marked as the capital of the province.¹

Just as this province has no dominant centre of population, so it has no one principal railway centre. Norwich is the best road centre; and it is also the chief centre of railway communications on the eastern slope. Its communications with Cambridge and Peterborough, the railway centres of the south-west and north-west corners of the province, could be considerably improved by the construction of short link lines. The first of these would link two sections of the former Great Eastern Railway, from a point about four miles south of Thetford to one some six miles east of Newmarket via Lackford and Cavenham: this line would be some ten miles long. An alternative to this would be a line from south of Thetford to the terminus at Mildenhall, which would be of about the same length, but would traverse less populous country and pass no village of any importance. It is somewhat remarkable that there is no railway directly westward from Norwich. Our second suggestion is for a direct connection from Norwich to Peterborough, which would involve two link lines. The first of these should start from the former Midland and Great Northern joint line two and a half miles from Norwich and pass up the valley of the River Tud for

¹ It may be recalled that in his lecture to the Royal Geographical Society (*The Geographical Journal*, XLIX, 1917, pp. 124-41), Fawcett proposed to put the capital of this province at Cambridge but was dissuaded from this in the discussion which followed this lecture.

twelve miles to Dereham on the old Great Eastern Railway. The second would stretch westward from a point about four miles west of Swaffham to the junction near Watlington, a distance of about ten miles. From here there is a direct branch to Wisbech, and thence to Peterborough; but at Wisbech there is a gap of less than half a mile between the two systems which would have to be bridged. The lack of connection here between the two railway systems which between them serve the northern part of East Anglia is a relic of the period of railway competition which perpetuates much of the inconvenience of that time without any of its advantages. It is paralleled in Norfolk by the similar gap west of Aylsham, and in many other parts of the country.

While Norwich is less excentric in this province than any of the other considerable towns, it occupies a fairly central position only for the north-eastern part of the region. A circle round Norwich of sixty miles' radius does not touch the western boundary of the province; it includes Cambridge, but not Peterborough, and St. Ives and Saffron Walden are near its circumference.

The excentric position of all the large towns of East Anglia and the absence of any dominant centre of population in this province may make it feasible to establish an artificial capital in some one of the smaller towns, to be chosen primarily for its central position, and made the chief railway centre and the focus of the whole region. Here the distribution of the population and the physical features of the province both favour such a development. The towns of Norwich, Ipswich, Cambridge, and King's Lynn are situated approximately at the four corners of a square whose sides are about forty-five miles long. Near the intersection of the diagonals of this square is the small ancient borough and market town of Thetford. If a central position is to be a chief qualification for that rank, then Thetford should be the capital of the province. This is said to have been at one time the capital of the Kingdom of East Anglia; so that the suggestion may be regarded as one for the revival of an ancient capital as well as for the creation of a new one. Thetford is almost equidistant (about thirty miles) from each of the four towns mentioned, and also between Peterborough and Lowestoft (under forty-five miles away); it is in the chief transverse route through the East Anglian Heights from the eastern slopes to the Fenland; and the whole province is within a circle of fifty miles' radius round it. It is now a small railway junction, but it

could easily be made the centre of the East Anglian railways by a few short linking branches, none of which would meet any serious physical obstacles. In every other province there is a distinct natural capital determined by the distribution of its population and its systems of communications. In East Anglia alone is there an opportunity for the creation of a new capital.

THE LONDON PROVINCE

THE south-eastern corner of England here forms the London Province. This consists essentially of the great city and its suburban areas with the open country immediately beyond them. The province includes the London Basin up to the crests of the Chiltern Hills and the North Downs, except for its long and narrow westward extension between the Berkshire and Hampshire Downs in the Vale of Kennet, the whole of the Weald, and the coast from Harwich to Bognor, including both these towns. To the east and south it extends to the sea; to the north, north-west, and south-west it is bordered by the provinces of East Anglia, Central England, and Wessex. The northern and southern sections of its land boundary have already been described, in the chapters on East Anglia and Wessex respectively; so that only the central section need be considered here. This extends northward from the Wessex Downs on the heaths of East Berkshire, east of the valley of the Loddon, to cross the Thames some three miles above Marlow. Thence it stretches north-westward along a spur of the Chilterns to the watershed between the streams of the upper and lower Thames basins; and along this it is drawn north-eastward near the crest of the Chiltern Hills to the south-east corner of East Anglia.

This boundary between the London and Central provinces leaves that of Wessex at the western end of the North Downs, on the hill between Herriard and Ellisfield, about four miles south of Basingstoke. Thence it is drawn eastward on the ridge between the valleys of the rivers Wey and Loddon to Clare Park, two miles west-by-north from Farnham. Here the line turns northward across the upper part of the valley of the Blackwater tributary of the Loddon so as to leave the populous area about Aldershot and Farnborough to the London Province. Our boundary is drawn between Ewshott and Crondall,

east of Crookham and west of Fleet, thence over Yateley Common and across the River Blackwater between Blackwater and Sandhurst, just west of the Royal Military College, to Bagshot Heath. From this heath the line continues northward between Ascot and Bracknell, passing some three miles west of Windsor Great Park, to Ashley Hill, four miles west of Maidenhead. Thence the boundary stretches directly across the Thames between Hurley and Medmenham to Bockmer Hill on a spur of the Chilterns and reaches the crest along this spur.

Along the Chiltern Hills the boundary keeps near to the water-parting. It is drawn along the crest above Chinnor, thence across the railways in the Risborough Gap a mile and a half south of the station to the ridge between Hampden and Princes Risborough, and along this to the Wendover Gap, in which it crosses the railway a mile south-east of Wendover Station. Beyond this the line is continued along the scarp to the Tring Gap, in which it crosses the old London and North Western Railway and the Grand Junction Canal between Northchurch and Tring. Thence it is drawn over Ivinghoe Common along the crest to Dunstable Down. This down, whose summit rises to 782 feet above the sea, marks the north-eastern end of the higher section of the Chilterns, in which the summits are usually at altitudes of about 800 feet. Beyond it, few summits reach 600 feet, and the average height of the crest is between four and five hundred feet, while the gaps are also correspondingly lower than those to the south-west.

From Dunstable Down the boundary is drawn round the head of the valley of the River Lea, at a distance of four or five miles from Luton, passing to west and north of Dunstable, a mile from that town, and across the former Midland Railway two miles north of Legrave Station. The line then bends to the east over Barton Hill to Telegraph Hill, four miles west of Hitchin, whence it bends southward round the edge of the lowland bay in which this town is situated. In this Hitchin Gap it crosses the former G.N.R. half a mile north of Stevenage Station at a lower altitude than that of any of the gaps already mentioned. From north of Weston the line stretches directly along the crest for about five miles to reach the East Anglian boundary by passing just to the south and east of Sandon.

This London Province, within the boundaries we have just indicated, is the largest of all our English Provinces. It comes first in the list in

order of area, in order of population, and in order of density of population (cf. Fig. 13, p. 174). It contains nearly thirteen million inhabitants, and is thus also the most populous province of Britain, with more than twice as many people as Scotland and eighty per cent more than the Lancashire Province. Three-fourths of this population is within the Metropolitan Police Area; and it is probably safe to ascribe two-thirds of it to the metropolis and its suburbs. The outer limits of the suburb area to the north and west almost reach the boundary of the province, which is here only some thirty miles from Charing Cross. Along the coast on each side of the Thames Estuary, and from the Isle of Thanet south-westward, is the detached series of seaside suburbs which form 'London-by-the-Sea' and are all economically dependent on the metropolis. The seaside series is checked westward by the change in the character of the South Coast west of Selsey Bill, where it is broken by a group of muddy estuarine inlets and ceases to be favourable to the growth of seaside resorts, although they attract sporadic bungalow settlements; so that Bognor is the westernmost member of the continuous series. The province is wholly centred on and dominated by London, on which all its roads and railways converge. The extent of this domination is well illustrated by the absence of any longitudinal railway in the Vale of Sussex, between the Wealden Heights and the South Downs, except for the short stretch west of the River Arun. At least five-sixths of its people dwell within thirty miles of Charing Cross, and the small areas of agricultural or horticultural population round London and in the vales of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex are wholly dependent on the London market. Only the furthest seaward projections of the province, about Harwich, the tip of Dungeness, and the Kentish Forelands, are more than sixty miles from the heart of London. In no other province is the capital so overwhelmingly dominant.

CENTRAL ENGLAND

THE remaining part of the country forms our Central, or South Midland, Province. This is surrounded by the West Midland and East Midland Provinces to the north-west and north, East Anglia to the east, London's to the south-east, Wessex to the south, and Bristol's to the south-west. And all its boundaries have already been described in relation to those provinces.¹

This province occupies the central districts of the English Lowland, the series of clay vales in the trough between the chalk scarp of the Chilterns and the oolitic limestone scarp of the Cotswolds, from the edge of the Fenland to the divide between the Thames and the Bristol Avon, together with the westward prolongation of the London Basin in the Vale of Kennet which forms its southern section. It is made up of three smaller regions: (1) the Upper Thames, or Oxford, Basin in the centre and west of the province; (2) the valleys of the rivers Nene and Ouse above the Fenland in the north-east; and (3) the valley of the Kennet and a small part of the Thames Valley about Reading in the south. The first two of these are not divided from each other by any distinct ridge or barrier; the waterparting between the streams of the Oxford Basin and those flowing to the Wash is a very sinuous, and often indefinite, line, on slight elevations transverse to the hill ranges which mark the north-western and south-eastern edges of the province. The third, or southern, region is separated from the central one by the uplands of the Berkshire Downs and the south-western end of the Chiltern Hills. This area of separation is crossed by several highroads; it is completely broken where the river cuts through it in the Thames

¹ In the 1942 map (*see* Fig. 12, p. 163). Central England lost a considerable number of small areas to East Anglia and the East Midland Province, but gained a little from West Midland.

Gap; and in this gap and at two places to the west it is traversed by railway lines which connect the Kennet Valley, at Reading, Newbury, and Marlborough, with the Oxford Basin to the north. On the south the Vale of Kennet is severed from the Hampshire Basin by the corresponding, but wider, separating area of the Downs of North Wessex. But to the east it merges with the London Basin, from which it is not cut off by any continuous barrier. As a whole this vale is much nearer and more akin to the Oxford Basin, especially in the occupations of its people, than it is to London; and hence it has been assigned to the Central Province. Its western half is more than sixty miles from London; while no part is as much as forty miles from Oxford and most of it is less than fifty miles from this city.

The population of this Central England is rather more than one and a half millions. Of this total, about a fifth is in the southern of the three regions referred to above, and the rest is almost equally divided between the central and north-eastern regions. Like East Anglia, it contains no very large town and no considerable area of really dense population; and hence it is one of the least populous of our provinces. It has five considerable towns, which together include a little more than a fourth of its people; they are, with their populations in 1951: Reading (114,176), Northampton (104,429), Oxford (98,675), Swindon (68,932), and Bedford (53,065). Of these the City of Oxford is the one which is most centrally situated in the province as a whole and also with respect to the other towns. It is also the long-established regional capital of the Oxford Basin, the central region of the province, and a thriving industrial centre. Hence it is here marked as the provincial capital.

Outside these towns the population is mainly occupied in agriculture, and settled fairly evenly along the valleys. In the Nene Valley below Northampton, there is an industrial district, including perhaps a hundred thousand people engaged mainly in leather-working, in and about a group of small towns of which Kettering, Wellingborough, and Rushden are the chief. But as a whole this Central Province is an agricultural district, with an average density of population less than half that of the whole country. It is thus marked off clearly from the neighbouring London and West Midland provinces. Probably a majority of its people are directly or indirectly connected with agriculture rather than with any other industry or with commerce. The

whole of our Central England is within a hundred miles of London; and nearly two-thirds of it is within sixty miles of that city.

Many of the main lines of the railway system of this country aim primarily at connecting London with the populous industrial areas in the north-western half of the land. Hence the outstanding feature of the railways of this province is that they radiate from London. No less than nine such main lines pass through it and the local lines are all subsidiary branches. The most important of these branches is that of the Western Region from Oxford north-eastward along the vales through Bicester, Bletchley, and Bedford, towards Cambridge. Other longitudinal lines between the Chilterns and the Cotswolds are quite fragmentary. Oxford is even now the best railway centre in the province, and could with comparative ease be brought into effective communication with all parts of it. The chief connecting line to be suggested for this purpose is one from Bicester via Buckingham to Roade Junction, a distance of about twenty miles: this would give direct communication between the north-eastern and south-western parts of the province, via Northampton and Oxford; it would also provide another direct route from the South of England to the eastern parts of the North Midlands and the North.

In the south-western corner of the province, about the head of the Thames Valley, there is at present an extraordinary lack of connections among the several lines of railway. Here we would suggest the extension of the small branch from Swindon to Highworth for five miles further to connect with the line from Oxford to Fairford near Lechlade, and so provide a more direct route from Swindon to the centre of the province. Then the line to Fairford should be extended beyond its present terminus at that town along the Upper Thames and into the Bristol Province to Badminton, connecting with lines to the Midlands and the West. At present there is no transverse main line of railway in England nearer to London than that in the Triassic Vale beyond the Cotswolds, from Bristol through Birmingham to Derby and Nottingham. The line just referred to should form the south-west section of a corresponding transverse route between the Cotswolds and the Chilterns, from Bristol by way of Oxford, Bedford, and Cambridge to the capital of East Anglia. Such a main line across the lowland would add greatly to the facilities of intercommunication in the southern half of England. Two other lines may be suggested. The area south-east of Oxford, in the

angle between the Thames and the Chilterns, is perhaps as ill-provided with railways as any corresponding agricultural area in the country: it could be best served by a line along the east side of the river, from near Littlemore to a junction some two miles north of Goring, with a branch to Watlington at the foot of the Chiltern scarp. A similar link from Thame to Aylesbury would connect the upper and lower parts of the Vale of Aylesbury, between which there is now no direct line; and a branch from the Oxford-Bedford line near Ridgmont to Hitchin would bring the eastern corner of the province into direct touch with its central areas. The construction of these lines would go far to unify this province and also to improve the internal communications of the country as a whole.¹

¹ Road facilities and competition militate clearly against such additional railway provision today.

THE ANGLO-WELSH BOUNDARY

THE boundary between the English and Welsh counties, from the estuary of the Dee to the Bristol Channel, is of the same character as those which separate any other counties in the two countries. It was established only when Wales was formally incorporated with England and the Welsh Marches were divided into counties, in A.D. 1535. By the Act of Incorporation the English counties of Gloucester, Hereford, and Shropshire were extended at the expense of the marchland; the Welsh counties of Glamorgan, Carmarthen, Pembroke, Cardigan, and Merioneth were similarly extended; and five new counties were created from the remainder of the marchland, namely the English county of Monmouth and the Welsh counties of Brecon, Radnor, Montgomery, and Denbigh. The new county boundaries were defined by a Boundary Commission in the years 1535-42; and they do not differ in any way from those which divide the older counties. There is no indication that the position of any of these boundaries was determined by language distributions or any other differences between English and Welsh.

But in the discussion of this boundary today we must take into consideration two factors which do not affect any boundary between our English provinces. These are, first, Welsh nationalism, and second, the extent to which the language of the border districts is English or Welsh. Probably the two are related to some extent; although nationalism does not depend on the possession of a particular or exclusive language, a fact which is well illustrated in Scotland and Ireland as well as in Canada and Switzerland. It is as impossible for one person to know the strength of regional patriotisms in many parts of England. And we cannot know how Welshmen may regard any suggestions for the modification of the boundary until such suggestions have been published. The writer has attempted to obtain information on this matter,

but has only succeeded in gathering a number of very contradictory assertions.

The second factor, that of the relative prevalence of the English and Welsh languages, is fortunately capable of exact measurement, thanks to census reports on the languages spoken in Wales and Monmouthshire. For the purpose of the language censuses in 1901, 1911, 1931, and 1951 all children under three years of age were excluded,¹ but there were some small differences between these censuses in respect of the questions asked. Nevertheless in each of these censuses can be distinguished the numbers of:

- (i) those speaking English only;
- (ii) those speaking Welsh only; and
- (iii) those speaking both English and Welsh.

Only a trivial proportion of the population enumerated are recorded as speaking any other language and this group need not be referred to again. The numbers, in thousands, of the population aged three years and upwards in Wales and Monmouthshire in each of the three groups were:

		1901	1911	1931	1951
(i) English only	..	928	1208	1563	1758
(ii) Welsh only	..	281	190	98	41
(iii) Both languages	..	649	787	811	674

These figures indicate that English is the principal language. In 1911 the monoglot English formed an absolute majority and nearly nine-tenths of the total spoke English, while the monoglot Welsh were less than one-tenth. The proportion of those speaking English only has increased steadily, from 50 per cent in 1901 to 71 per cent in 1951, while monoglot Welsh speakers have declined from 15 per cent to 2 per cent during this period. The accompanying map (Fig. 9) shows the distribution of monoglot English in Wales and Monmouth in 1951. It suggests, too, that English has spread westward by four main routes, along the south and north coasts and up the valleys of the Severn and the Wye almost to the sources of those rivers. The only lowland areas of any

¹ In 1891 the age limit was two years; hence the figures for that census are not fairly comparable with those of the later censuses.

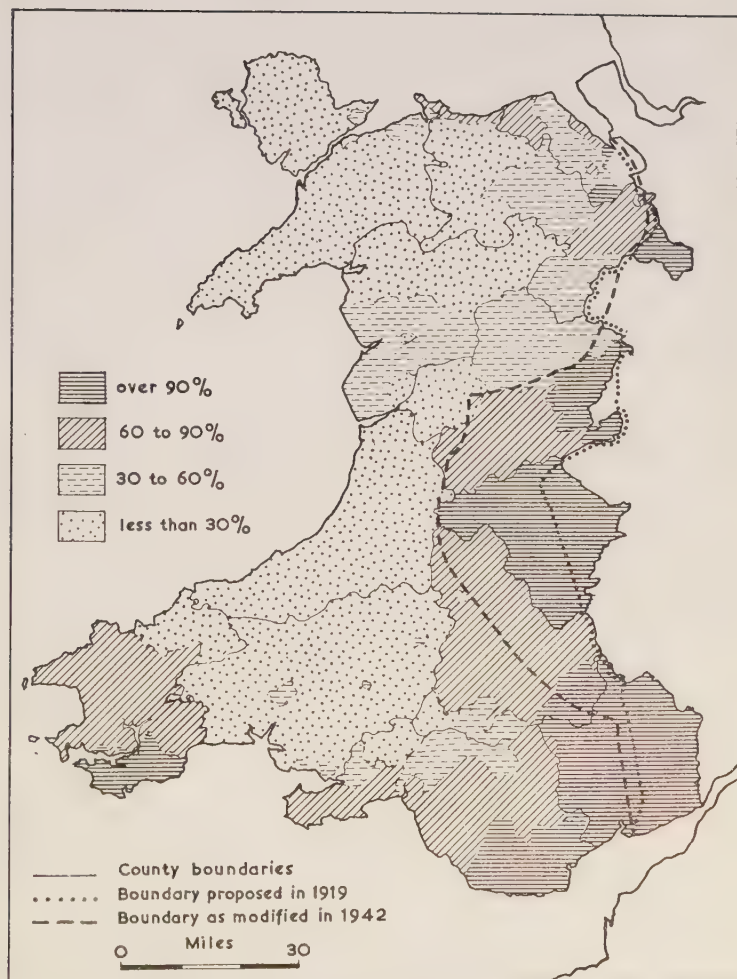


FIG. 9. Distribution of monoglot English in Wales and Monmouthshire in 1951

important extent in which Welsh is spoken by a majority of the people are Anglesey and the Lleyn peninsula.

Figure 9 shows the eastern boundary of Wales proposed in 1942. The adoption of this line would transfer from England to Wales more than 440,000 people—30,000 in what is now the north-west corner of Shropshire, part of the territory added to that county in 1535, and the rest in Central and West Monmouthshire, in the valleys of the Usk and Rhymney rivers. On the other hand, it would transfer from Wales to England less than 70,000 people. In the districts affected by the suggested change of boundary, as is shown on the map, the population is overwhelmingly English-speaking. In Radnorshire only 857 people out of a total of 19,993 speak Welsh and of these as few as fourteen speak Welsh only. In Monmouthshire there were (in 1951) 967 per 1,000 speaking English only; here the Welsh-speaking population is almost wholly in the western edge of the county, in the Rhymney Valley. The suggested change of boundary would not affect any Welsh-speaking district, and it would still leave Wales with a majority of its inhabitants speaking English only.

The only practicable attitude of any provincial parliament towards the language question in such a province as Wales is one of strict impartiality. There must be no attempt (nor has there been in fact) to suppress either tongue, nor to compel either section of the people to learn the language of the other; although it is very desirable that there should be abundant facilities for them to do so; and it is probable that social and economic conditions will ensure that the great majority will understand one of the languages.

Our suggested land boundary for Wales is the result of a compromise between the principles on which the other provincial boundaries are drawn and the particular condition, which we have added in this case, that no district in which any considerable part of the population uses Welsh should be allotted to an English province, i.e. we have aimed at confining the language problem to one province.

The redrawn boundary for Wales follows a line a little to the West of the county boundary of Cheshire with Flint and Denbigh, from Shotton-on-the-Dee to Overton. Part of north-west Shropshire around Oswestry is thus included in the Welsh Province. The boundary then follows the main watershed of rivers draining to the River Severn, and those draining to the coast, in a general north-east—south-west line

across Montgomery. All of Radnor is excluded from the Welsh Province. The boundary then follows a straight north-west—south-east line from the north-west corner of Brecknock to the Black Mountains. Thence the boundary follows the eastern watershed of streams draining to the River Usk and reaches the Bristol Channel south of Magor.

This boundary is drawn generally along the eastern edge of the Welsh Upland. It leaves the entire Severn drainage basin to the West Midland Province and all of the Wye drainage basin except for the upper portions and a few headstreams. At its northern end it leaves the upland and passes close to the Dee so as to leave the populous industrial area of East Flint and Denbigh in Wales. And at the southern end it also leaves the edge of the upland and is drawn through Central Monmouthshire so that the far more populous area associated with the South Wales coal-field may be kept as a whole in Wales.

The changes in the area and population of Wales which would result from this boundary are considerably to the advantage of that province. And the distribution of the population is such that this province would have no less than three-fifths of its people concentrated in its south-eastern corner, in Glamorganshire and the parts of Monmouth which are added to it. The total population is a little above two and a half millions, so that in order of populousness Wales would rank eighth among the divisions of the United Kingdom.

UNITY OF THE PROVINCES

THE strength and value in the life of the people of any such provinces as those we have discussed must depend primarily on the extent to which they can develop a patriotism of their own. Without the support of a strong public opinion, both national and provincial, in their favour, the provinces could never come into existence, or be in any sense effective units for democratic local government. The prospects of the growth of any such opinion in the area of any one province must depend largely on the extent to which that area is really a unit region in reference to the sentiments and needs of its inhabitants. If the people of the province have, and realize that they have, a sufficiently large common measure of interests and sentiments to justify a claim for provincial self-government, then we may reasonably expect that the province would be a strong and effective unit for the satisfaction of their common needs and the organization of many of their public services. Hence the strength of any one of our provinces as a unit for self-government depends on:

1. The unity and coherence of its territory and the interdependence of its various districts.
2. The numbers and wealth of its inhabitants.
3. Their feeling of unity and local patriotism; or the extent to which it is possible to develop in them such a feeling of pride in and responsibility for the province.
4. The extent to which it is or is not dependent on any outside centres of population and influence for its regional life. Any such dependence must weaken, though it may not destroy, the internal unity of the province.

In Great Britain there are several regions whose peoples already have a strong sense of their regional unity. This is exceptionally well marked in Yorkshire and Lancashire and in Wales and Scotland. But these more local patriotisms do not in any way detract from the unity of the whole country or the strength of the national patriotism, probably the reverse: the provincial is likely to be more patriotic than the cosmopolitan. And the nation which recognizes the existence of many diverse regionalisms within itself and encourages the fullest and freest development of regional individualities is thereby strengthened far more than it could be by any suppression of local differences in favour of a mechanical national uniformity. Over-centralization of the life of a large nation tends to weaken its members by the subordination of the provinces to the metropolis and the concentration of the powers of initiative and organization in the capital; and the weakening of the members involves in the long run the enfeeblement of the whole.

It is common for many people, especially in metropolitan cities, to sneer at provincialism as if it were necessarily a mean and petty sentiment. Narrowness of outlook is a defect to which the provincial is perhaps liable. But patriotism, like many other virtues, must begin at home. And the man or woman who has no love for and pride in his or her home region is not thereby qualified for wider views of life. Provincialism is in itself a good thing, and a necessary factor in the well-being of humanity. It is only productive of ill when it leads to a lack of a due sense of proportion in comparing one's own region with others and one's own folk with those of other parts of the world. In this country such a sense of proportion is to be found quite as much in any of our provincial capitals as in London. The citizen of the great metropolis is in many cases so conscious of the magnitude of his own city that he quite fails to realize that it is only a part of England and of Britain, and in many respects not the most important or representative part. London is not England, any more than New York is America. The life of the industrial regions is focused in their own great cities and is very largely independent of the metropolis. The men of Birmingham and Manchester, of Sheffield and Newcastle, and other great regional capitals of England, are rarely disposed to yield precedence to the Londoner in any respect, or to look to London for guidance in matters of thought. London has no lead in science or thought comparable to that which she exerts in commerce and finance.

Most of the twelve provinces into which we have marked out the country are, or are capable of becoming, strong provinces in that they are regions whose inhabitants have a considerable range of interests and sentiments in common, and are differentiated by many of their interests from those of the neighbouring provinces.

The North Country is one of the strongest of our provinces because of its economic unity, the numbers and wealth of its population, and its remoteness and the strength of its local patriotism. This last is mainly a result of the relative isolation and independence of centuries past, due to that remoteness from any other large centres of population. A similar remoteness has given to the people of the Devonian peninsula a corresponding unity and independence and strong local patriotism, which is sufficient to guarantee the strength and individuality of our Devon Province, in spite of its relative weakness in numbers.

The Lancashire Province is also a region with a very strong and distinctive individuality. The very numerous population of this province occupies a well-marked natural region, and in it has developed a strong regional patriotism and a tradition of independence of thought and action. The isolation and remoteness of medieval Lancashire are things of the past. The province is now the central region of the British Isles, and it has abundant links with all parts of the world. The distinctive character of the region is a guarantee of the strength and independence of our Lancashire Province; while the number and importance of its links with the outer world are amply sufficient to prevent its strong local patriotism from becoming a narrow provincialism. Lancashire is likely to be a leading province in a Federal Britain.

East of the Pennines, Yorkshire has for many centuries maintained its character as one of those parts of England in which regional consciousness is strongest. In the last century it has developed two separate modern regional capitals in Leeds and Sheffield. And, in contrast to the position in Lancashire, where Liverpool and Manchester are nodes of one urban region and parts of one industrial and commercial area, Leeds and Sheffield are foci of regions each of which has its own distinctive industrial character. Again, in the north-east of Yorkshire the Cleveland area has grown into an integral part of the North Country, instead of an outlying corner of Yorkshire. Hence the Ancient County of Yorkshire has in our scheme been divided. The Yorkshire Province, which is wholly within its limits, contains the greater part of its area and

two-thirds of its population. Its southern section contains the nucleus and chief part of the Peakdon Province. But its north-eastern and north-western corners have been assigned to provinces whose central areas are outside the ancient Yorkshire. How such a distribution will affect, or be affected by, Yorkshire patriotism it is impossible to know. But it is equally impossible not to recognize that Leeds and Sheffield are capitals of distinct and co-ordinated regions, and that these two could not well be united in one province or either of them subordinated to the other in any way.¹ Each of them is the focus of a region which has sufficient strength to form a distinct province. And by giving these regions separate organization, each is left free to develop its own distinctive character; and the rivalry between them may serve a useful purpose by leading each to strive for the best development of its province and so offer a stimulating example to the rest of the country. The Peakdon Province can set against its small area the advantages of a greater compactness and unity round one focus than are possessed by any other province.

The three remaining provinces which are largely industrial—West Midland (Severn), East Midland (Trent), and Bristol—have somewhat less natural unity and coherence than those already referred to, because the regions they occupy are sections of the English Lowland which are much less distinctive natural regions and lack the definite areas of separation which mark out Lancashire or Devon or the North Country.

The three provinces bordering London are unquestionably the weakest of our twelve. They are also, except for Devon, the least populous; and their smaller populations are, in general, more evenly distributed than those in other parts of the country. Their weakness is in part a direct result of their nearness to London, of the relative absence of separating areas between them, and of the extent to which the life of this part of England has for many generations been focused on and dominated by the capital. In the whole of this part of England, London is the only regional capital on any large scale; in it there is no important daily paper published outside London, while each of our other provincial capitals has an influential Press. Of the three provinces, East

¹ It is clear that Professor Fawcett, doubtful it would seem of the 'viability' of Peakdon, changed the views expressed in this paragraph in 1942 since his revised map of provinces (see Fig. 12, p. 163 below) shows that he then assigned the Sheffield-Don industrial area of Peakdon to his Yorkshire Province.

Anglia is the most distinct and furthest from London; and it still has a tradition of regional life and thought apart from that of the metropolis. This eastern province is somewhat aside from the main routes which connect London with the other great centres of population, and it is well beyond the range of the immediate suburbs of the great city. Also the fact that it is one of the most thinly peopled of these Provinces of England, together with its character as an agricultural province, marks off its people and their work from the urban life and interests of London. Hence it may well develop a definite provincial life and patriotism. The same is true, to a much less degree, of Wessex; though the three large towns of this province are, each in a different way, very directly dependent on London, and each of them is economically and socially more closely associated with London than they are with each other.

Central England is nearer to London than either of the others; along the Chiltern Hills and the Berkshire Heaths it almost reaches the outer fringe of the direct suburbs, for this boundary is only thirty miles from the heart of London. But this province has also a distinct geographical unity; and, in a region which is mainly agricultural, its people have in many respects different interests and sympathies from those of the metropolitan area. The rural life of many of its smaller towns and villages is very little affected by the impulses from the great cities, which appear to pass through this region without stopping there, like many of the express trains which rush through it. The Central Province is the weakest of all our provinces in any tradition of unity, and it may be the least likely to develop any distinctive individuality. But it could not conveniently form a part or parts of any other province or provinces; it is for the most part distinctly separated from other regions; and it certainly has considerable possibilities for the development of active provincial life.

THE PROVINCES AS EDUCATIONAL AREAS

ANOTHER very important series of relations which may be briefly considered here is that between the modern universities and our provinces. The rise of these universities has helped the provincial capitals to resist the enormous centralizing power of London and to develop their intellectual self-respect and independence. In the field of education, developments during recent decades have shown up the inadequacy of the areas now controlled by the Education Committees of our counties and towns. The natural unit areas for educational administration would seem to be those of the primary school district, i.e. the area from which such a school draws its pupils, the corresponding secondary school district, and the university region. If we set these out in a systematic form, using the letters *a*, *b*, *c* to denote areas of different orders of magnitude (as on p. 33), we have as education areas corresponding to (a) provinces, (b) districts, and (c) townships or wards of towns:

- (a) University regions, each of which should be made up of a number of
- (b) Secondary School districts and Technical School districts, each which should be made up of a number of
- (c) Primary School districts.

The relation of these divisions to the actual distribution of the population is obvious. But since the areas controlled by our Local Education Authorities are those of older local government bodies, those areas have no necessary relation to the natural school districts. Hence there is considerable overlapping and waste in the provision and maintenance of schools. No Local Education Authority controls an area corresponding to a university region. In the abortive Education Bill of 1917 there was an attempt to create 'Educational Provinces', each of which was to be related to a university. Hence the distribution

of the universities and university colleges of England in relation to our provinces is a matter of very great interest. On the accompanying map (Fig. 10), the position of each of these institutions is indicated.

The ancient universities of Oxford and Cambridge are in a class apart from the young modern universities which have grown up in all our larger cities in the past two or three generations. They belong to the nation as a whole, and not to any one region, and they are more intimately associated with the metropolis than with any other city. Hence it is very unlikely, and not at all desirable, that they should be specially related to any provincial parliament.

The modern university, on the other hand, usually tends to become in many respects a regional university. It is often the apex of the educational organization of the region; and it is to some extent, and should be much more, an intellectual centre for the constructive development of its region in many directions. Much of its research and teaching is strongly influenced by the characteristic work of its region, as, for instance, in the Faculty of Metallurgy of the University of Sheffield. A vigorous and well-equipped university can do much to develop the sense of unity and community of interests in the region it studies and serves, and it should be a focus of intellectual life and interests.

It is very significant that each of our great regional capitals of the industrial provinces has developed a university. The facts that Bristol University is the youngest of these (it was founded in 1909), and that Nottingham's strong University College attained full university status only in 1948, may be associated with the positions of these two regional capitals. Bristol is a smaller capital of a less populous region than those of our Northern and West Midland Provinces. And in the economic life and interests of the East Midland Province, Nottingham is less dominant than are those capitals in their respective provinces. The greater regional consciousness, population, and economic production of Lancashire are reflected in the fact that this province possesses two of our strongest universities. The standing and dominance of the University of London in the remaining half of the country is a reflex of the dominance of London itself. In the south and south-east there was (in 1919) no other modern university, but the university colleges already there, one of which (Southampton) stood in a provincial capital, have all become universities—Reading in the Central Province in 1926, Southampton in Wessex in 1952, and Exeter in Devon in 1955. The



FIG. 10. Distribution of universities and university colleges in June 1961, in relation to the provinces as delimited in 1942. Note that Northampton fell within the Central Province as delimited in 1919.

establishment of the University College of Sussex at Brighton in 1959 marks the first extra-London addition to the province and recognizes the growth of population in the so-called Brighton conurbation¹ which numbered 263,000 in 1951. Two other additions within this province

¹ This is made up of the County Borough of Brighton, the Municipal Borough of Hove, and the Urban Districts of Southwick, Portslade, and Shoreham which form a continuous urban tract.

will be made since proposals have been accepted for similar institutions in Kent, at Canterbury, and in Essex at Colchester.

Several other recent developments underline the principle that university institutions should be regionally distributed. In 1949 the University College of North Staffordshire was set up at Keele in the Potteries,¹ as an addition in the Lancashire Province. Hull University—a university college until 1954—now joins those of Leeds and Sheffield² in the extensive Yorkshire Province; here too the University College of York will make its contribution. The University College of Leicester became Leicester University in 1957, so that it shares with that at Nottingham in the provision of university functions within the East Midland Province. The proposal for a University of Warwick at Coventry in the West Midland Province has now been officially accepted and also another, the location of which is to be determined. It is not without interest to note, as background to these developments, the substantial increases of population which have been made in the several provinces between 1911 and 1951 (*see* Appendix (b) p. 176).

East Anglia was the only one of our provinces which had no modern university until local efforts were successful in remedying this deficiency when (in 1960) the establishment of the University College of Norwich was officially approved. That in Devon is at a considerable distance from the chief centres of population. And in the Central Province the populous north-eastern section is too far distant from any such institution. Hence we may suggest that there is need and room for universities at Plymouth and Northampton, so that no part of the country should be beyond the reach of university facilities.³

Our provinces are in most cases suitable 'university regions' for educational organization, although some of them may include two or even

¹ On the Potteries *see* p. 90 above.

² In the first edition of this book Sheffield University served the Province of Peakdon, of which Sheffield was capital. In assigning it to the Yorkshire Province, the Editors follow Fawcett's later views expressed in his 1942 map (*see* above Fig. 10, p. 157).

³ Actually the universities which sprang from regional needs and interests are attracting students from all over England and Wales. Other suggested centres for university institutions include Carlisle, Lancaster, Blackpool, Lincoln, Stamford, Shrewsbury, Hereford, Leatherhead, Weymouth and Truro. Government policy, however, seeks to expand, where possible, existing universities, as well as to create new ones. (Editors' note.)

more such regions. And, with due provision for the maintenance of a satisfactory minimum standard in the most backward province, the provincial parliaments should be entrusted with full control of education.

The number of universities necessary or desirable in any country cannot be determined by reference to the numbers of the people only; it is largely dependent on the distribution of those people in relation to suitable centres. The figures tabled below show that there is room for more universities in England, in relation to the rest of the United Kingdom, even when full allowance is made for the large size of some of its existing universities¹ and of plans for the considerable expansion of others.

<i>Country</i>	<i>Universities</i>	<i>Population (millions in 1951)</i>	<i>Average Population to each university institution</i>
Wales ²	1 (5 U.C.s)	2.6	520,000
Northern Ireland	1 (and 1 U.C.)	1.4	700,000
Scotland ³ ..	4 (and 1 U.C.)	5.1	1,020,000
England ³ ..	24 (including U.C.s)	41.1	1,712,000

Certainly, in comparison with countries in Europe and North America, the United Kingdom appears to offer an inadequate scale of university facilities, as is suggested by its remarkably low ratio of university students to population numbers.⁴

¹ That London University is 'outsize' is shown by the fact that its student numbers amount to about a quarter of those for the universities of Great Britain, while its government recurrent grant is about 30 per cent of the total.

² The admission of St. David's College, Lampeter, to the University Grants Committee's list in 1960 puts Wales further ahead of England and Scotland in this respect.

³ While Professor Fawcett's emphasis on the proper regional distribution of university institutions has been increasingly recognized and remains valid, other criteria might suggest that the university provision for England and Scotland is not relatively so inadequate as this Table might suggest. Thus England, with 84.2 per cent of the population of Great Britain, received for its universities (in 1956-7) 80 per cent of the government's recurrent grant, while Scotland received 15 per cent (with only 10.5 per cent of the population), and Wales got rather less than 5 per cent (with 5.3 per cent of the population).

⁴ See the Table 180 in U.N. *Statistical Yearbook*, 1959.

RELATION OF THE PROVINCES TO OTHER PRINCIPAL DIVISIONS

THE distribution of England into provinces, and the delimitation of the boundaries of these provinces, have been discussed hitherto without any particular reference to the areas or boundaries of older divisions of the country. The scheme suggested here has been worked out by the application of the principles of division with which we started (cf. p. 62) to existing distributions in England. The very fact that the present distribution of the population and chief centres of the country is completely different from that of the period when our older divisions were formed ensures that our provinces cannot be systematically related to any of those divisions.

The break in our island history between the departure of the Romans and the establishment of the English kingdoms was so complete that no direct traces of divisions older than those of the Early English have affected our present organization. But those Early English kingdoms, of the centuries between the first settlements of the Jutes and the unification of most of what is now England under one overlord in the tenth century, were in some cases the direct precursors of the modern counties, as in Kent and Sussex; while in other cases the name still survives to indicate regions which include the whole or a part of the area usually ascribed to one of them, as in East Anglia, Northumbria, and Wessex. In such a case the tradition of a former unity may still be sufficiently strong to influence local patriotism. Probably East Anglia is the most definite instance of this; there the ancient unity is still reflected to some degree in local life, though the greater part of its area has long been divided between two of our Ancient Counties, and the character of its western borderland in the Fens has changed completely.

But we should remember that the period from the fifth to the tenth centuries was in England a time of almost continuous warfare among the several semi-barbaric states, and against invaders from overseas, on the one hand, and the earlier inhabitants of the island on the other. Hence the period was one of fluctuating states. Few of their boundaries can have been definite; and changes in the extent and numbers of the several kingdoms were very frequent. Hence their limits at any given period, even if they were accurately known, could not be of much value in determining provincial boundaries today. Two of our provinces, East Anglia and Wessex, are named from the ancient kingdoms, in each case because that name has persisted to our own days. In neither case do the boundaries of the province claim any relation to the fluctuating limits of the ancient kingdom; and in the case of Wessex our province represents only the nucleus of that kingdom.

The relations of our provinces to the counties is a matter of much more interest and importance, since the county has long been the principal subdivision of this country. Our modern counties are based in general on the ancient counties, though seven of the Ancient Counties have each been divided into two or more modern counties and the County of London is entirely modern. In these divided counties, as for instance, Yorkshire and Sussex, county patriotism seems to be associated with the Ancient County and to ignore the modern divisions. But in the other, and far more numerous, cases in which the differences between the ancient and modern counties are comparatively small and scattered, there is less certainty as to the effect of the changes on local feeling. These smaller differences have been due mainly to three sets of changes. (1) Most of the formerly very numerous detached parts of counties have been annexed to the county by which they were surrounded. The existence of such detached fragments may have been due, in many instances, to the desire of a great lord to have all his manors in the county in which he himself was most influential. They seem to have been most numerous in the South Midlands, where there were until recent decades many detached parts of counties (cf. Fig. 5, p. 48). (2) The provision in modern local government that a civil parish shall be wholly within one county. This has led in some cases to the division of a parish which was formerly in more than one county along the county boundary, in others to a change in the latter line. In other instances a parish has been transferred from one county to another, as, for instance,



FIG. 11. Relation of the provinces as defined in 1919 to the counties

the parishes of Hawkchurch and Chardstock, which were in the Ancient County of Dorset and are now in the Administrative County of Devon. (3) The growth of urban districts on county boundaries, and the resulting inclusion of the whole of such a district in one county.

These smaller changes appear to have been generally accepted by local feeling. Where this is the case, such local patriotism as is asso-

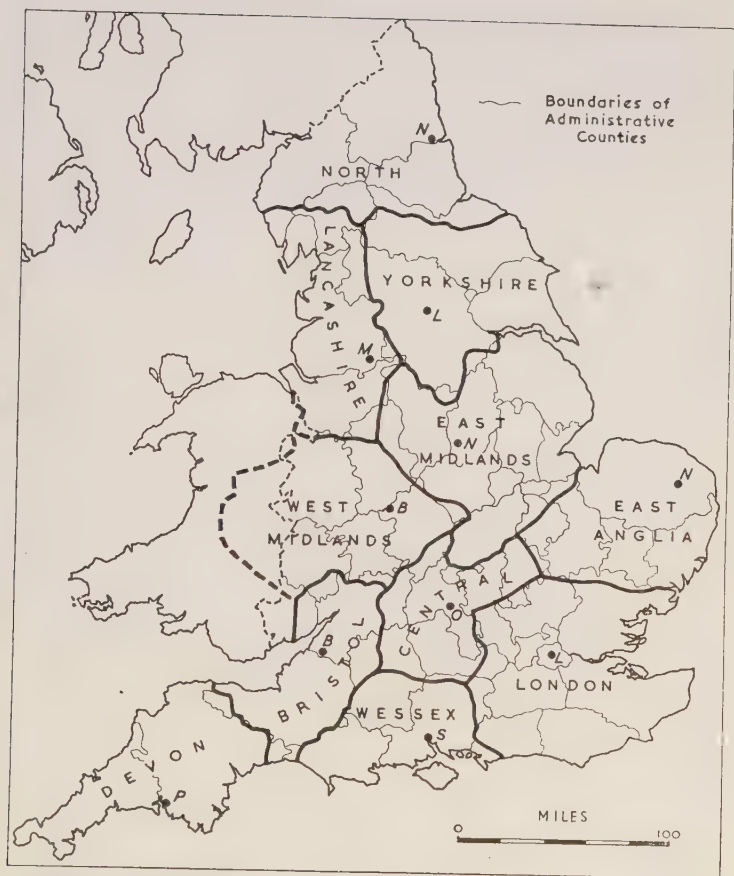


FIG. 12. Relation of the provinces as defined in 1942 to the counties

ciated with the county is now connected with the modern county. And evidently there is no insuperable obstacle to further changes.

The relations of our provinces to the modern counties as regards area are indicated on the map in Figs. 11 and 12. The corresponding distributions of population as between the provinces and those counties are given in detail in Appendix Tables (c) and (d). A glance at the maps

is sufficient to show that a province usually consists approximately of a group of counties but that the boundaries of provinces and counties coincide in very few cases. It is also noticeable that nine of the twelve cities indicated as provincial capitals are situated so near to a county boundary that their suburbs extend over it; only Leeds, Norwich, and Southampton are well within one county.

Many of these differences of boundary are comparatively slight ones, due to the shift from the line of a stream to the divide at one side of its valley. Thus most of the western boundary of Derbyshire is formed by the River Dove; and here the whole valley of that river is included in the East Midland or Trent Province. Similar small changes are responsible for the differences between the county and provincial boundaries round the Somerset Plain, to the north of the London Province, and north-west of the Central Province. It is unnecessary to refer to these smaller changes separately: they, like the larger ones, follow directly from the application of the principles on which these provincial boundaries have been drawn.

In the North, Westmorland has been divided almost equally between the North Country and Lancashire provinces. This accords with the natural and long-standing division of that county, by the moorland ridge across it from the Cumbrian Mountains to the Pennines, into two sections, the Northern or Appleby Division in Edendale and the Southern or Kendal Division which slopes to Morecambe Bay. Of these the northern appears to have been part of Strathclyde, and sometimes of the Kingdom of Northumbria, and then of the Earldom and Bishopric of Carlisle in the Early Middle Ages: while the southern formed part, at different times, of the Kingdom and Shire of York and of the bishoprics of York and Chester. Hence there is abundant historic precedent for so natural a division.

Each of the North Midland counties of Derby and Stafford is divided between three provinces; and one parish of Derbyshire (Lullington) is in the West Midland Province. These divisions result from the modern distribution of population in this part of the country. North Stafford and North-west Derbyshire are associated with the conurbation of South-east Lancashire, while North-east Derbyshire is similarly associated with Sheffield, and the south and south-east of the county is in the Trent Valley and is more closely connected with Nottingham as a regional capital. Similarly the division of the counties

of Holland, Huntingdon, and Buckingham each between two provinces, and of Southampton, Wiltshire, and Gloucester each between three provinces, are necessary results of the fact that the provincial boundaries are related primarily to the present-day distribution of the people. Wiltshire, which has already been referred to (p. 58), is the most striking illustration of the way in which valley settlement since prehistoric times has completely reversed the relative positions of the areas of dense and scanty population and so justified a change in boundaries.

The names of six of our twelve provinces have long been associated with the regions—the North Country, Lancashire, Yorkshire, East Anglia, Devon, and Wessex; though the association is not with the precise area of the province. In respect to area we have extended the name Lancashire to the whole natural region of which the county of Lancaster is the central and largest division; that of Yorkshire has been limited by the excision of outlying areas which have hitherto been annexed to the natural region which is the essential Yorkshire, while that of Devon is here applied to the whole of the Devonian peninsula. The other three were not related to any specific boundaries. These six provinces have therefore the great initial advantage for the development of a provincial patriotism of starting with a tradition of regional unity and a strong local patriotism which may be attached to the province without any violation of sympathies or traditions.

Two more of our provinces have here been denoted by the names of their capital cities—London and Bristol. The region of the London Province includes several of the older counties, including two which are derived from separate kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxon period, Kent and Surrey; but its unity as a province is that of Greater London and its suburbs, and the chief natural region composing it is the 'London Basin' of geographers and geologists. Hence it is almost inevitably termed the London Province. Round Bristol the popular regional name has been 'West of England' or 'West Country'. But our Bristol Province has no better claim to the name 'West of England' than the West Midland Province has, and a less claim than could be made on behalf of Devon; while the term 'West Country' has different local meanings from north to south of England—in Durham and Northumberland it refers to Cumberland and Westmorland. Hence it was necessary to find another name for this province, and that of Bristol is employed here as

the one which has been associated with its chief city, and the channel to which nearly all its streams flow, throughout English history in the region.

In Peakdon we have a province whose modern unity is due to the economic developments which have focused this populous area on the City of Sheffield. And here we have suggested a name which is quite new. The province consists of two smaller natural regions, the High Peak District and the valley of the River Don; and we have therefore called it 'Peakdon'.

The three remaining provinces are those of the East, West, and South Midlands respectively. No one of them coincides with or is based on any considerable region which has a distinctive name; and, with the one exception of Berkshire, all the counties of this part of England are named from their county towns. The first two we have named the East Midland (or Trent) and the West Midland (or Severn) Provinces respectively; their principal rivers serve largely to unify them in sentiment as well as in fact. For the third we have not found a satisfactory name, though it is physically a more distinct natural unity than either of the other two. It is formed from parts of the valleys of three rivers, the Thames, Great Ouse, and Nene, between which there are no strong or definite dividing areas. The historic relations of England to the Continent and the situation of the capital of the south-eastern corner of the country, with the chief lines of communication radiating from it, have led to the greater use of routes transverse to this region of vales between the two main scarped ridges of the Cotswolds and the Chilterns than of the longitudinal routes between these ridges. Except when the great medieval diocese of Lincoln spread along these vales from the Fenland to the Upper Thames, the region does not appear to have ever been united for any purpose. Hence there is no historic name for it. It was divided along a very shifting frontier between the early kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex; but it does not include the nuclear districts of either of them. The name Central Province or Central England is appropriate because this is the central part of that lowland which is the England of history and tradition; but it has little of the appeal to imagination and local feeling which is inherent in the names of the other provinces, and is therefore not completely satisfactory.

There is considerable variety among our provinces both in respect of area and of the numbers and grouping of their populations. This is,

we believe, very desirable; but since some suggestions made in discussions on the subject have been based on the assumptions that it is desirable to have either equality of area, or equality of importance, i.e. of population, among the provinces, it may be interesting to compare them in this respect with the constituent units of the three great English-speaking Federations. This comparison is set out in the table below.

		<i>Areas (sq. miles) and range of areas</i>		<i>Populations and range of populations</i>	
U.S.A. (states) ..	Alaska	571,065	New York	14,830,192	
		1 : 540		1 : 92	
	Rhode Island	1,058	Alaska	161,000	
Kingdom of Canada (provinces) ..	Quebec	523,860	Ontario	5,404,933	
		1 : 290		1 : 54	
	Prince Edward Island	2,184	Prince Edward Island	99,285	
Commonwealth of Australia (states)	Western Australia	975,920	New South Wales	3,462,502	
		1 : 37		1 : 10.8	
	Tasmania	26,215	Tasmania	319,542	
England (suggested provinces)* (Census of 1951)	London	6,295	London	12,801,952	
		1 : 2.2		1 : 11	
	Wessex	2,855	Devon	1,128,959	
United Kingdom (suggested provinces) (Census of 1951)	Scotland	29,785	London	12,801,952	
		1 : 10.4		1 : 11	
	Wessex	2,855	Devon	1,128,959	

* As in the 1942 map (Fig. 12, p. 163).

The figures given above show that the range among our suggested provinces, as units in a Federation of the United Kingdom, is very much less than that among the components of Canada or the United States, and similar to that among the states of Australia.

It may also be well to note the bearing of the principles on which

our Provinces of England have been delimited on the other countries of the United Kingdom. Nothing in them would suggest any division of Scotland or Wales, even though the area of those countries is greater, and hence the accessibility of a capital in each is much less than that of any English province. In Ireland the City of Belfast has already, since the 1920s, become the capital of Northern Ireland and the focus for a population of 1·4 millions which has proved itself sufficiently distinct to form a separate Province within the United Kingdom.

CONCLUSION

THE division of England into provinces which has been sketched out in the preceding pages would certainly, if it were carried out, be an effective means of bringing order into the existing chaos of subdivisions of the country for the purposes of its internal and local government. The establishment of rational divisions, with simple boundaries, closely related to the actual features of the land and the distribution of the people, would render possible a far greater economy of administration than can be expected under present conditions. And such provinces might well make a much wider and more effective appeal to regional patriotism than can be done by any of our existing divisions, and so enlist in the public service the active interest and goodwill of a larger proportion of their inhabitants. Each province is sufficiently extensive and populous to include a considerable variety of people and local conditions within its bounds, and to need, and be able to maintain, all the necessary organs of a self-governing province within the United Kingdom. But no one of them is too vast for its internal affairs to be intelligible to its citizens, or for all of them to have a high common measure of sentiments and of interest in it; and in the most thinly peopled province the density of population is such that its inhabitants are in close contact with one another; so that there should be in each a well-informed public opinion on provincial affairs. Hence they are favourable units for the further development of democratic institutions. Their parliaments need not be so overburdened with details as to be inefficient organs of popular government, as the existing Parliament of the United Kingdom has been for the past generation; nor would they be likely to sink into a narrow parochialism, for each would be concerned with a wide range of activities and interests.

The reduction of the present excessive centralization of our political

and administrative systems in London is another advantage which would necessarily follow from a large measure of provincial devolution. This would make the machinery of local government much more flexible and responsive to the varying needs of the different provinces, and bring it into closer touch with the people in each. And if the existing friendly rivalries between some of the different regions of Britain were continued, as we believe they would be to some degree, into corresponding rivalries between various provinces, the resulting stimulus to the better government of the provinces and the organization of all their public services would be of incalculable value. When Lancashire is free to reorganize and plan out the confused and overcrowded congeries of towns in her great conurbation, and to provide for all her people healthy and favourable conditions of life, we may expect to see developments in regional planning which are at present unthought-of, and which will only be equalled by those of the neighbouring provinces.

Probably the chief function of the national parliament in respect to local government will be to secure that the least progressive and weakest of the provinces do not fall below a prescribed minimum of efficiency in their provision for the public health, their systems of education, their roadways, and other matters. But with regard to the supply of water to some of our largest cities the central government must exercise some further control, since these cities cannot all secure the necessary supplies within the province. Already there are four cases in which such a water supply is taken across our provincial boundaries. The Derwent Valley Water Board has its gathering-grounds and main reservoirs in the eastern part of the High Peak District, in Peakdon; but it distributes water to Derby, Nottingham, and Leicester, as well as to Sheffield and to some smaller towns. Birmingham and Liverpool obtain water from gathering-grounds in the Welsh Upland. And Manchester draws part of its supply from Thirlmere, which lies beyond the northern boundary of our Lancashire Province. Hence the national government must make provision for these and similar cases which may arise.

Each of our provinces includes districts among which the density of population varies very widely. Most of them include on the one hand large and densely crowded urban and suburban areas, and on the other a considerable extent of thinly peopled and barren upland—areas of great wealth and areas of comparative poverty. But the cities owe a

great debt to the regions of difficulty. The harsh and barren uplands, where a scanty population obtains a poor living only by incessant labour, may contribute but little to the material wealth of the world either of crops or of mines; they are regions whose chief export is men. All of them send down to the lowlands a steady stream of men and women whose physical and mental powers, trained to a high standard of application by the nature of their homelands, make them most valuable elements in the population. From Pennine dales and Scottish glens, from the uplands of Wales and Devon and the downlands of the South Country, this fertilizing stream flows down to the lowlands and the great cities, as it has done for generations past. And it is both just and politic that some of the wealth created there should be returned to these regions of comparative poverty, in the form of means of communication by road and rail and all the other public services which should be provided by a provincial government, and, above all, in the form of better and fuller education for their children and adolescents, the demand for which is usually far keener in such regions than it is in the cities; though the present facilities for meeting it are much more inadequate. It is one of the most satisfactory results of our delimitation of England into provinces that it does distribute the industrial areas and the regions of difficulty so that these provinces are, on the whole, suitable areas for administration and for self-government from this point of view, in that each great industrial conurbation is associated with its neighbouring region of difficulty. The London Province is alone in containing a great conurbation without any proportionately large area of scanty population.

A careful study of the preceding pages will have shown that our provinces have been delimited in accordance with the results of the two great shifts of population which we have discussed earlier in this volume (Chapter 3, pp. 52 to 56). The existing local government divisions are still based on the Ancient Counties, all of which arose before one or both of these revolutionary changes in the distribution of the people over the surface of the country, and before the growth of our great cities; hence they are inevitably out of harmony with the present conditions. But the boundaries of the counties have been modified in very many cases, even during the last few decades (cf. p. 50), and in their present form there is little of the sanctity of age left to them. Popular sympathies and traditions in any part of the country are more

usually associated with some natural region than with the existing local government areas; while the Ancient Counties are no longer unit areas for any administrative purposes, and few people know their boundaries. Hence no refusal to consider any serious attempt to sketch out divisions in relation to the existing geographical conditions of the country can be based on any respect for their boundaries.

Finally, we may end, as we began, by insisting that the problem is one of devolution. We have been concerned with a delimitation of provinces; and in this work so many factors have been found to combine harmoniously that we are convinced that the provinces here sketched out are, to a very high degree, natural political divisions, which bear a reasonable relation to the present distribution of the population and the physical features of England. No one of our provinces is either too large or too small, in population or area, for self-government; and they are so far comparable to one another in these respects that no one of them can possibly dominate the rest. Democracy demands devolution; without it, democratic government is becoming an impossibility; for our single parliament, like any autocrat in a similar position, is too overburdened with multitudinous details to be able to control the vast and complicated machinery of modern government. The establishment of some such provinces would do much to overcome this difficulty and restore that variety in unity, those various regionalisms within one state due to provincial independence, which have in the past been principal factors in the growth of the characteristic traditions and civilization of England.

APPENDIX

POPULATION AND AREA OF EACH PROVINCE

THE populations given in the tables which follow are from the census figures of 1911 and 1951. Where the boundary passes through a parish the whole population of that parish has been counted in that of the province in which the village of that name or the greater part of its area is included.

The areas were obtained by tracing Professor Fawcett's boundaries, as described for each province, on the Quarter Inch to a Mile map. By reference to the County maps of the Ordnance Survey showing administrative boundaries it was then determined to which province any particular administrative area was allotted. The figures for acreage and population of each administrative area were then totalled from the census figures.

Tables (c) and (d) show how the population of each province is made up from those of the counties, and how the population of each county is allotted to the several provinces respectively. Read in the light of the fact that the provincial boundaries are systematic, these tables illustrate the extreme irregularity of the county boundaries.

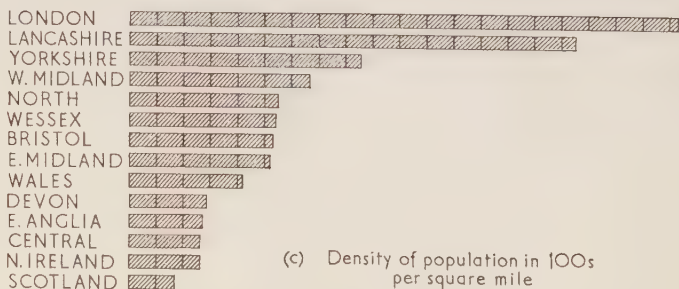
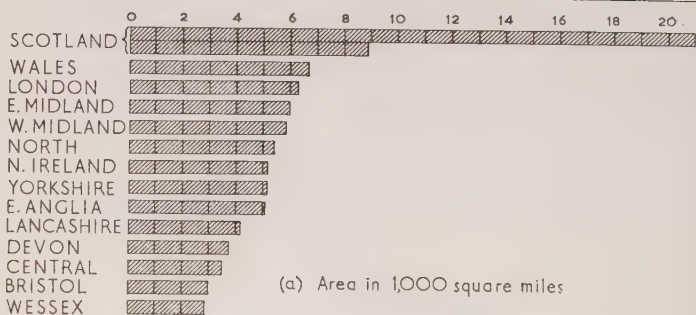


FIG. 13. Comparative diagram of areas, populations, and densities of population of the provinces as delimited in 1942

(a) AREAS AND POPULATIONS OF THE PROVINCES
AS DELIMITED IN 1942

<i>Province</i>	<i>Area in sq. miles</i>	<i>Population 1951</i>	<i>Approximate number of persons per sq. mile</i>
North England ..	5,430	2,870,504	547
Lancashire	4,235	6,991,417	1,653
Yorkshire	5,205	4,479,809	861
West Midland ..	5,840	3,916,802	671
East Midland ..	6,030	3,162,309	524
Devon	3,990	1,128,959	283
Wessex	2,855	1,551,380	543
Bristol	3,065	1,616,171	527
East Anglia	5,105	1,401,556	275
London	6,295	12,801,952	2,034
Central England ..	3,555	1,248,373	267
The Welsh Province	6,704	2,588,656	386
<i>Total—England and Wales</i>	<i>58,309</i>	<i>43,757,888</i>	<i>750</i>

(b) AREAS AND POPULATIONS OF THE PROVINCES AS DELIMITED IN 1919

<i>Province</i>	<i>Approximate area in sq. miles</i>	<i>Population 1911</i>	<i>Population 1951</i>	<i>Approximate number of persons per sq. mile—1911</i>	<i>Approximate number of persons per sq. mile—1951</i>	<i>Population increase % 1911–1951</i>	<i>Capital</i>
North England ..	5,430	2,598,426	2,870,504	485	530	11.4	Newcastle-upon-Tyne
Lancashire ..	4,233	6,286,459	6,991,417	1,420	1,652	11.2	Manchester
Yorkshire ..	4,503	2,700,111	3,022,135	600	671	11.9	Leeds
Peakdon ..	900	1,197,976	1,496,989	1,330	1,665	25.0	Sheffield
West Midland (Severn)	4,956	2,821,450	3,904,702	590	788	38.4	Birmingham
East Midland (Trent)	5,016	2,133,315	2,781,376	420	555	30.4	Nottingham
Devon ..	3,991	1,016,988	1,128,959	250	283	10.8	Plymouth
Wessex ..	2,856	1,138,355	1,556,380	455	544	36.7	Southampton
Bristol ..	3,063	1,294,505	1,632,328	425	533	26.6	Bristol
East Anglia ..	5,025	1,221,108	1,412,555	245	281	15.7	Norwich
London ..	6,295	10,097,323	12,801,952	1,580	2,034	28.7	London
Central England ..	4,323	1,178,929	1,590,935	275	368	34.9	Oxford
The Welsh Province ..	7,753	2,385,547	2,567,656	310	331	6.3	Cardiff
Scotland ..	29,785	4,760,904	5,095,969	160	171	7.0	Edinburgh
Ireland ..	32,583	4,390,219	—	130	—	—	Dublin
Northern Ireland ..	5,238	—	1,370,921	—	262	—	Belfast

Total Populations	England and Wales	..	..	..	..	..	43,757,888
	United Kingdom (including the Channel Isles and the Isle of Man)	..	..	..	..	..	50,369,797
	Area of England and Wales	..	..	..	..	..	58,309 sq. miles

(c) POPULATION OF EACH PROVINCE, AS OBTAINED FROM
THE COUNTIES, IN 1911 AND 1951¹

North England Province

	1911	1951
Durham	1,369,860	1,463,868
Northumberland	696,893	798,424
Cumberland (part of)	250,389	270,977
Westmorland (part of)	18,244	17,931
York, North Riding (part of)	263,040	319,304
	2,598,426	2,870,504

Lancashire Province

	1911	1951
Cheshire	954,779	1,258,507
Lancashire	4,767,832	5,117,853
Cumberland (part of)	15,357	14,361
Derby (part of)	48,354	44,060
Shropshire (part of)	9,133	11,207
Stafford (part of)	392,809	450,461
Westmorland (part of)	45,331	49,461
York, West Riding (part of)	40,695	38,745
Flint (part of)	12,169	6,762
	6,286,459	6,991,417

Yorkshire Province

	1911	1951
York, East Riding	432,759	510,904
York, North Riding (part of)	156,506	206,177
York, West Riding (part of)	2,028,564	2,199,683
York, City	82,282	105,371
	2,700,111	3,022,135

¹ The counties referred to in the Tables are the 'modern' counties, i.e. the administrative counties with their associated county boroughs. The areas of the provinces listed in this Table are those determined in the first edition of this book.

Peakdon Province

					1911	1951
Derby (part of)	..	..	..	..	228,560	262,753
York, West Riding (part of)	..	..	..	..	969,416	1,234,236
					1,197,976	1,496,989

West Midland (Severn) Province

					1911	1951
Derby (part of)	..	..	..	..	226	162
Gloucester (part of)	..	..	..	..	26,935	27,947
Hereford (part of)	..	..	..	..	98,840	111,706
Leicester (part of)	..	..	..	..	6,357	8,965
Monmouth (part of)	..	..	..	..	671	743
Northampton (part of)	..	..	..	..	5,576	6,196
Oxford (part of)	..	..	..	..	633	468
Shropshire (part of)	..	..	..	..	231,621	272,434
Stafford (part of)	..	..	..	..	876,574	1,084,246
Warwick (part of)	..	..	..	..	1,037,888	1,859,815
Worcester (part of)	..	..	..	..	525,660	522,846
Brecknock (part of)	..	..	..	..	1,603	1,643
Flint (part of)	..	..	..	..	356	283
Radnor (part of)	..	..	..	..	8,510	7,248
					2,821,450	3,904,702

East Midland (Trent) Province

					1911	1951
Kesteven	..	..	..	..	111,324	130,717
Lindsey	..	..	..	..	369,787	473,550
Nottingham	..	..	..	..	604,098	841,211
Rutland	..	..	..	..	20,346	20,537
Derby (part of)	..	..	..	..	406,283	519,462
Holland (part of)	..	..	..	..	58,998	71,136
Leicester (part of)	..	..	..	..	470,196	622,112
Northampton (part of)	..	..	..	..	5,241	6,543
Peterborough, Soke of (part of)	..	..	..	..	1,143	1,352
Stafford (part of)	..	..	..	..	78,876	86,327
Warwick (part of)	..	..	..	..	321	190
York, West Riding (parts of)	..	..	..	..	6,702	8,239
					2,133,315	2,781,376

Devon Province

					1911	1951
Cornwall	..	..	..	..	328,098	345,442
Devon (part of)	..	..	..	..	683,280	778,205
Somerset (part of)	..	..	..	..	5,610	5,312
					1,016,988	1,128,959

Wessex Province

					1911	1951
Wight, Isle of	..	..	..	..	88,186	95,625
Berkshire (part of)	..	..	..	..	64	54
Dorset (part of)	..	..	..	..	205,619	273,457
Somerset (part of)	..	..	..	..	6,137	6,762
Southampton (part of)	..	..	..	..	724,515	1,014,164
West Sussex (part of)	..	..	..	..	31,937	53,474
Wiltshire (part of)	..	..	..	..	81,897	112,844
					1,138,355	1,556,380

Bristol Province

					1911	1951
Devonshire (part of)	..	..	..	..	16,423	19,533
Dorset (part of)	..	..	..	..	17,647	17,866
Gloucester (part of)	..	..	..	..	668,687	863,478
Hereford (part of)	..	..	..	..	15,429	15,453
Monmouth (part of)	..	..	..	..	17,618	20,501
Somerset (part of)	..	..	..	..	446,278	539,379
Wiltshire (part of)	..	..	..	..	112,423	156,118
					1,294,505	1,632,328

East Anglia Province

					1911	1951
East Suffolk	..	..	..	..	277,155	321,909
Isle of Ely	..	..	..	..	69,752	89,049
Norfolk	..	..	..	..	499,116	548,062
West Suffolk	..	..	..	..	116,905	120,652
Cambridge (part of)	..	..	..	..	125,984	164,712
Essex (part of)	..	..	..	..	25,711	25,327
Hertford (part of)	..	..	..	..	6,941	7,273

					1911	1951
Holland (part of)	..	..	..	..	23,851	30,419
Huntingdon (part of)	..	..	..	..	31,968	42,713
Northampton (part of)	..	..	..	..	150	—
Peterborough, Soke of (part of)	..	..	..	..	43,575	62,439
					1,221,108	1,412,555

London Province

					1911	1951
East Sussex	..	..	..	..	487,070	618,516
Kent	..	..	..	..	1,045,591	1,564,324
London	..	..	..	..	4,521,685	3,347,982
Middlesex	..	..	..	..	1,126,465	2,269,315
Surrey	..	..	..	..	845,578	1,602,483
Bedford (part of)	..	..	..	..	65,955	134,882
Berkshire (part of)	..	..	..	..	58,656	71,724
Buckingham (part of)	..	..	..	..	112,629	243,775
Essex (part of)	..	..	..	..	1,325,170	2,019,637
Hertford (part of)	..	..	..	..	271,026	542,035
Southampton (part of)	..	..	..	..	93,127	121,930
West Sussex (part of)	..	..	..	..	144,371	265,349
					10,097,323	12,801,952

Central England Province

					1911	1951
Bedford (part of)	..	..	..	..	128,633	177,055
Berkshire (part of)	..	..	..	..	212,289	331,363
Buckingham (part of)	..	..	..	..	106,922	142,516
Cambridge (part of)	..	..	..	..	2,338	2,175
Gloucester (part of)	..	..	..	..	40,475	48,008
Hertford (part of)	..	..	..	..	33,317	60,467
Huntingdon (part of)	..	..	..	..	23,609	26,589
Northampton (part of)	..	..	..	..	292,830	346,951
Oxford (part of)	..	..	..	..	198,636	275,340
Southampton (part of)	..	..	..	..	44,751	61,076
Warwick (part of)	..	..	..	..	2,200	1,665
Wiltshire (part of)	..	..	..	..	92,502	117,730
Worcester (part of)	..	..	..	..	427	—
					1,178,929	1,590,935

The Welsh Province

					1911	1951
Wales	..	..	..	..	2,025,202	2,173,560
<i>Deduct Parts of</i>						
Brecknock—to W. Midland (Severn)					1,603	1,643
Flint—to Lancashire	..	..	..		12,169	6,762
Flint—to W. Midland (Severn)	..				356	283
Radnor—to W. Midland (Severn)	..				8,510	7,248
					22,638	15,936
<i>Add Parts of</i>						
Shropshire	..	..	..	..	5,553	6,161
Monmouth	..	..	..	..	377,430	403,871
					382,983	410,032
Total in Welsh Province	..	..	..		2,385,547	2,567,656

(d) POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES IN 1911 AND 1951 AS
ALLOTTED TO THE PROVINCES

					1911	1951
BEDFORD	to Central England	..			128,633	177,055
	London	..	..		65,955	134,882
					194,588	311,937
BERKSHIRE	to Central England	..			212,289	331,363
	London	..	..		58,656	71,724
	Wessex	..	..		64	54
					271,009	403,141
BUCKINGHAM	to Central England	..			106,922	142,516
	London	..	..		112,629	243,775
					219,551	386,291
CAMBRIDGE	to Central England	..			2,338	2,175
	East Anglia	..			125,984	164,712
					128,322	166,887

			1911	1951
CHESHIRE	to Lancashire (all) ..		954,779	1,258,507
CORNWALL	to Devon (all) ..		328,098	345,442
CUMBERLAND	to Lancashire	15,357		14,361
	North England	250,389		270,977
			265,746	285,338
DERBY	to Lancashire	48,354		44,060
	Peakdon	228,560		262,753
	W. Midland (Severn)	226		162
	E. Midland (Trent)	406,283		519,462
			683,423	826,437
DEVON	to Bristol	16,423		19,533
	Devon	683,280		778,205
			699,703	797,738
DORSET	to Bristol	17,647		17,866
	Wessex	205,619		273,457
			223,266	291,323
DURHAM	to North England (all)	1,369,860		1,463,868
EAST RIDING OF YORK	to Yorkshire (all) ..	432,759		510,904
EAST SUFFOLK	to East Anglia (all) ..	277,155		321,909
EAST SUSSEX	to London (all) ..	487,070		618,516
ELY, ISLE OF,	to East Anglia (all) ..	69,752		89,049
ESSEX	to East Anglia	25,711		25,327
	London	1,325,170		2,019,637
			1,350,881	2,044,964

		1911	1951
GLOUCESTER	to Bristol	668,687	863,478
	Central England ..	40,475	48,008
	W. Midland (Severn)	26,935	27,947
		736,097	939,433
HEREFORD	to Bristol	15,492	15,453
	W. Midland (Severn)	98,840	111,706
		114,332	127,159
HERTFORD	to Central England ..	33,317	60,467
	East Anglia ..	6,941	7,273
	London	271,026	542,035
		311,284	609,775
HOLLAND	to East Anglia ..	23,851	30,419
	E. Midland (Trent)	58,998	71,136
		82,849	101,555
HUNTINGDON	to Central England ..	23,609	26,589
	East Anglia ..	31,968	42,713
		55,577	69,302
KENT	to London (all) ..	1,045,591	1,564,324
KESTEVEN	to E. Midland (Trent)		
	(all)	111,324	130,717
LANCASTER	to Lancashire (all) ..	4,767,832	5,117,853
LEICESTER	to W. Midland (Severn)	6,357	8,965
	E. Midland (Trent)	470,196	622,112
		476,533	631,077
LINDSEY	to E. Midland (Trent)		
	(all)	369,787	473,550
LONDON	to London (all) ..	4,521,685	3,347,982
MIDDLESEX	to London (all) ..	1,126,465	2,269,315

		<i>1911</i>	<i>1951</i>
MONMOUTH	to Bristol	17,618	20,501
	W. Midland (Severn)	671	743
	Wales	377,430	403,871
		395,719	425,115
NORFOLK	to East Anglia (all) ..	499,116	548,062
NORTHAMPTON	to Central England ..	292,830	346,951
	East Anglia ..	150	—
	W. Midland (Severn)	5,576	6,196
	E. Midland (Trent)	5,241	6,543
		303,797	359,690
NORTH RIDING OF YORK	to North England ..	263,040	319,304
	Yorkshire	156,506	206,177
		419,546	525,481
NORTHUMBERLAND	to North England (all)	696,893	798,424
NOTTINGHAM	to E. Midland (Trent)		
	(all)	604,098	841,211
OXFORD	to Central England ..	198,636	275,340
	W. Midland (Severn)	633	468
		199,269	275,808
PETERBOROUGH, SOKE OF,	to East Anglia ..	43,575	62,439
	E. Midland (Trent)	1,143	1,352
		44,718	63,791
RUTLAND	to E. Midland (Trent)		
	(all)	20,346	20,537
SHROPSHIRE	to Lancashire	9,133	11,207
	W. Midland (Severn)	231,621	272,434
	Wales	5,553	6,161
		246,307	289,802

				1911	1951
SOMERSET	to Bristol	..	..	446,278	539,379
	Devon	..	..	5,610	5,312
	Wessex	..	..	6,137	6,762
				458,025	551,453
SOUTHAMPTON	to Central England	..	..	44,751	61,076
	London	..	..	93,127	121,930
	Wessex	..	..	724,515	1,014,164
				862,393	1,197,170
STAFFORD	to Lancashire	..	..	392,809	450,461
	W. Midland (Severn)			876,574	1,084,246
	E. Midland (Trent)			78,876	86,327
				1,348,259	1,621,034
SURREY	to London (all)	..	..	845,578	1,602,483
WARWICK	to Central England	..	..	2,200	1,665
	W. Midland (Severn)			1,037,888	1,859,815
	E. Midland (Trent)			321	190
				1,040,409	1,861,670
WESTMORLAND	to Lancashire	..	..	45,331	49,461
	North England	..	..	18,244	17,931
				63,575	67,392
WEST RIDING OF YORK	to Lancashire	..	..	40,695	38,745
	Peakdon	..	..	969,416	1,234,236
	E. Midland (Trent)			6,702	8,239
	Yorkshire (including York City)	..	..	2,110,846	2,305,054
				3,127,659	3,586,274
WEST SUFFOLK	to East Anglia (all)	..	..	116,905	120,652

				1911	1951
WEST SUSSEX	to London	..	..	144,371	265,349
	Wessex	..	..	31,937	53,474
				176,308	318,823
WIGHT, ISLE OF,	to Wessex (all)		..	88,186	95,625
WILTSHIRE	to Bristol	..	..	112,423	156,118
	Central England	..	..	92,502	117,730
	Wessex	..	..	81,897	112,844
				286,822	386,692
WORCESTER	to Central England	..	..	427	—
	W. Midland (Severn)			525,660	522,846
				526,087	522,846
<i>Total</i> FOR ENGLAND					
				34,045,290	41,584,328
BRECKNOCK	to W. Midland (Severn)			1,603	1,643
	Wales	..	..	57,684	54,865
				59,287	56,508
FLINT	to Lancashire	..	..	12,169	6,762
	W. Midland (Severn)			356	283
	Wales	..	..	80,180	138,234
				92,705	145,279
RADNOR	to W. Midland (Severn)			8,510	7,248
	Wales	..	..	14,080	12,745
				22,590	19,993

INDEX

A

Administrative Counties, 33, 42, 43,
44, 45, 46, 50, 71, 102, 120, 162
Ancient Counties, 35, 42-7, 57-9,
61, 69, 102, 120, 152-3, 160-2,
171-2
Anglesey, 148
Anglo-Saxon Townships, 47
Anglo-Scottish Boundary, 80
Anglo-Welsh Boundary, 29, 33, 59,
145-9
Aylesbury, 144

B

Badminton, 143
Banbury, 71
Barnard Castle, 71
Barnsley, 100
Barrow-in-Furness, 93
Bath, 129
Bedford, 142-4
Bedfordshire, 134, 180-1
Belfast, 168, 176
Berkshire, 47, 71, 138, 141, 154, 166,
178, 180-1
Berwick-on-Tweed, 80
Beverley, 105
Birmingham, 47, 72-5, 107, 110-1,
115, 127, 143, 151, 170, 176
Birmingham University, 72
Blackpool, 63, 93, 158
Boundary Commissions Act, 50
Bournemouth, 125
Bradford, 74, 104
Brecknock, 145, 149, 178, 181, 186
Brighton, 157

Bristol, 40, 46, 47, 57, 74, 77, 120,
122, 127-31, 143, 153, 156, 165,
174-6, 179, 182-6
Bristol University, 156
Buckinghamshire, 60, 165, 180, 181
Burton-on-Trent, 43, 47
Buxton, 101, 130

C

Cambridge, 40, 42, 134-6, 143
Cambridge University, 156
Cambridgeshire, 42, 60, 134-6, 179,
180, 181
Canterbury, 46, 158
Capitals, provincial, *see* Provincial
capitals
Cardiff, 74, 176
Cardiganshire, 145
Carlisle, 69, 84-7, 158, 164
Carmarthenshire, 145
Centralization, 151, 169, 170
Channel Isles, 176
Chardstock, 162
Cheltenham, 130
Cheshire, 39, 47, 66, 77, 85, 90, 102,
148, 177, 182
Chester, 46, 56, 93, 164
Chesterfield, 100
Chichester, 121, 126
Church tithes, 49
Civil Defence Regions, 37-9, 72
Civil Parishes, 30, 34, 43, 47-50,
161-2
Cleveland, 37
Coalfields, 56-7, 72, 75, 76, 92, 95,
97-8, 106, 110, 113-15, 127, 129, 149
Colchester, 158

- Communications, 26, 29, 54, 64, 72,
 88, 100, 115, 119, 120, 131, 135,
 137, 143-4, 171
 Conurbations, major, 40, 41, 77
 Cornwall, 44, 61, 116, 117, 179, 182
 Cotton, 92, 94
 Council of the North, 60
 Counties, 41-3, 68-70, 161-4, 176-86
 County Boroughs, 30, 33, 41, 42, 45,
 47, 48
 County Councils, 30, 31
 Coventry, 158
 Crewe, 93
 Cumberland, 44, 82, 84-7, 165, 177,
 182
- D
- Darby, H. C., 53
 Defence of the Realm Act, 111
 Denbighshire, 145-9
 Derby, 57, 114-15, 143, 170, 178
 Derbyshire, 39, 43, 47, 60, 69, 76,
 90, 164, 177, 182
 Devolution, 23-5, 27-8, 31, 172
 Devon, 66, 69, 102, 116-19, 152-3,
 157-9, 162, 165, 167, 174-6, 179,
 182, 185
 Divided Parishes Act, 49
 Don, R., 76, 95-101, 166
 Doncaster, 99-100
 Dorchester, 126
 Dorset, 58, 119-26, 162, 179, 182
 Dublin, 176
 Durham, Co., 61, 69, 83-7, 165, 177,
 182
 Durham University, 85
- Early English kingdoms, 58, 160-1,
 164, 166
 East Anglia, 58, 69, 132-7, 142-3,
 154, 158, 160-1, 165, 174-6
 East Riding, 42, 47, 103-5, 177, 182
 Ecclesiastical Parishes, 47-9
- Edinburgh, 74, 84, 176
 Education, 24-6, 155-9, 171
 Education Bill, 156
 Educational Provinces, 156
 Ely, Isle of, 42, 179, 182
 Essex, 40, 56, 58, 124, 179, 180, 182
 Exeter, 46, 56, 118, 156
 Exeter University, 157
 Extra-Parochial Places, 47-8
- F
- Federation, 24-5, 28, 65-6
 Fens, 59-60, 67, 112-13, 132-7, 141,
 160, 166
 Flintshire, 91, 93, 148-9, 177-8, 181,
 186
 Freeman, T. W., 41
- G
- Garden suburbs, 53
 Geddes, Sir Patrick, 41, 74
 Geographical Counties, *see* Ancient
 Counties
 Gilbert, E. W., 41
 Glamorgan, 145, 149
 Glasgow, 74
 Gloucester, 130, 158
 Gloucestershire, 46-7, 60, 129, 145,
 165, 178-80, 183
 Great Yarmouth, 47, 135
 Grimsby, 114-15
- H
- Halifax, 104
 Hampshire, 42, 58, 71, 119-26
 Harwich, 134, 140
 Hawkchurch, 162
 Hereford, 111, 158
 Herefordshire, 37, 40, 145, 178, 179,
 180, 183
 Hertfordshire, 60, 69, 179, 180, 183
 Hinckley, 43
 Historic Counties, *see* Ancient
 Counties

Hitchin, 144
 Holland, 42, 165, 178, 180, 183
 Home Rule, 19, 23-4
 Huddersfield, 104
 Hull, *see* Kingston-upon-Hull
 Humber, R., 59, 67
 Huntingdonshire, 44, 60, 134, 165, 180, 183

I

Industrial Revolution, 52, 55-8, 74, 87-8, 94, 114-15, 127
 Ipswich, 57, 134-6
 Ireland, 23-5, 145
 Ireland, Northern, 25, 27, 65-6, 159, 168, 174
 Iron and steel industry, 76

J

Judicial areas, 34

K

Keele, 158
 Kent, 42, 58, 124, 140, 160, 165, 180, 183
 Kesteven, 42, 44, 178, 183
 Kettering, 142
 King's Lynn, 135-6
 Kingston-upon-Hull, 46-7, 103-5
 Kingston-upon-Hull University, 158

L

Lake District, 63
 Lampeter University College, 157, 159
 Lancashire, 39, 41, 47, 54, 56, 57, 66, 68-9, 77-8, 82, 85, 89-94, 100, 102, 151-3, 156, 158, 164-5, 170, 174-6, 181-6
 Lancaster, 158, 183
 Leatherhead, 158
 Leeds, 56, 74-6, 84, 95, 104-5, 127, 152-3, 164, 176
 Leeds University, 158
 Leicester, 57, 114-15, 170

Leicester University, 76, 158
 Leicestershire, 43, 60, 76, 113, 178, 183
 Lincoln, 49, 114-15, 158, 166
 Lincolnshire, 42, 44, 76, 112
 Lindsey, 42, 178, 183
 Lipman, V. D., 47, 49, 50
 Liverpool, 56, 63, 74, 78, 92, 127, 152, 170
 Llandudno, 63
 Local Education Authorities, 155-9
 Local Government Act, 46-7, 50
 Local Government Divisions, 30-1, 33-51, 70
 London, 33, 41-2, 54, 56, 60, 63, 66, 72, 138-40, 143, 153, 156, 164-5, 167, 171, 174-6, 180
 London, County of, 161
 London University, 156, 159
 Lowestoft, 135-6

M

Mackinder, Sir Halford, 21, 74
 Man, Isle of, 176
 Manchester, 39, 56, 63, 74, 77, 84, 90, 92-3, 115, 127, 151-2, 170, 176
 Matlock, 101, 130
 Mercia, 166
 Merionethshire, 145
 Merseyside, 41, 78
 Metropolitan Boroughs, 33
 Middlesex, 42, 56, 180, 183
 Midlands, 41
 Mills, W. H., 77
 Monmouthshire, 23, 34, 37-8, 42, 43, 54, 129, 145-9, 178-9, 181, 184
 Montgomeryshire, 145, 149
 Municipal Boroughs, 33

N

Nene Valley, 60
 Newbury, 71
 Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 47, 56, 57, 69, 74-5, 84-6, 151, 176

New Towns, 54
 Norfolk, 47, 69, 102, 132-7, 179, 184
 Northallerton, 105
 Northampton, 42, 57, 142, 158
 Northamptonshire, 42, 60, 76, 132, 178, 180, 184
 North Riding, 42, 47, 49, 82-3, 86, 102-5, 177, 184
 Northumberland, 83-7, 102, 165, 177, 184
 Northumbria, 160, 164
 Norwich, 47, 57, 78, 134-6, 158, 164, 176
 Nottingham, 47, 57, 69-70, 76, 95, 97, 114, 115, 127, 143, 156, 164, 170, 176, 178
 Nottingham University, 76, 156, 158
 Nottinghamshire, 50, 60, 69, 76, 98, 99, 114, 178, 184

O

Oman, Sir Charles, 47
 Oswestry, 111
 Oundle, 71
 Ouse, Great, R., 60
 Oxford, 47, 57, 78, 142-3, 176, 184
 Oxford University, 156
 Oxfordshire, 47, 178, 180

P

Parliamentary constituencies, 35, 44
 Parliamentary powers, 23-7, 169-70
 Patriotism, local, 62, 68-9, 70, 145, 150-4, 160-2, 165, 169, 170-2
 Peak District, 95-101, 166
 Pembrokeshire, 145
 Peterborough, 134-6
 Peterborough, Soke of, 42, 178, 180, 184
 Pierce, Eileen M., 43
 Plymouth, 79, 118, 131, 158, 176
 Poor Law Unions, 43-4
 Population, distribution of, 52-61, 63, 95, 100, 103, 105, 111, 113, 117,

118, 124-5, 130, 132, 134, 140, 142, 149, 152, 155, 158, 163, 165, 166-9, 171, 173
 Population figures, 24, 38, 40, 41, 47, 54, 55, 61, 65, 74, 76, 78, 87, 92, 93, 99, 100, 104, 110, 114, 120, 125, 129, 134, 140, 142, 146, 158, 159, 167, 168, 173, 174, 176-86
 Portsmouth, 125
 Potteries, 90-2, 106-7, 158
 Preston, 84
 Primary schools, 155-9
 Provinces:
 Bristol, 127-31, 153, 156, 174-6, 179, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186
 Central, 141-4, 154, 157, 158, 164, 166, 174-6, 180, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186
 Devon, 29, 116-18, 152, 153, 157, 158, 159, 165, 167, 174-6, 179, 182, 185
 East Anglia, 132-7, 154, 158, 159, 165, 167, 174-6, 179, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185
 East Midland (Trent), 112-15, 153, 156, 158, 164, 174-6, 178, 182, 183, 184, 185
 Ireland, *see under* Ireland
 Lancashire, 31, 37, 89-94, 152, 153, 156, 158, 164, 165, 174-6, 178, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186
 London, 31, 138-40, 164, 167, 171, 174-6, 180, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186
 North England, 37, 80-8, 152, 153, 156, 164, 165, 174-6, 178, 182, 184, 185
 Northern Ireland, *see under* Ireland
 Peakdon, 76, 95-101, 153, 158, 166, 170, 174-6, 178, 182, 185
 Scotland, *see under* Scotland
 Welsh, 29, 181, 184, 186, *see also* Wales
 Wessex, 119-26, 154, 157, 165, 167, 174-6, 179, 181, 182, 185, 186

West Midland (Severn), 29, 37,
74, 106–11, 153, 156, 164, 174–6,
178, 182, 183, 185, 186
Yorkshire, 31, 102–5, 152–3, 158,
165, 174–6, 178, 182, 184, 185
Provinces, geographical basis, 23–4,
28–32, 68, 169, 172
Provincial capitals, 62, 64, 71–9,
164, 165, 168
Provincialism, 151

R

Radnorshire, 145–9, 178, 181, 186
Reading, 40, 47, 57, 142, 157
Reading University, 156
Registration areas, 34–5
Registration Counties, 43–4
Robson, W., 50
Rotherham, 100
Rural districts, 30, 33, 34, 41, 43
Rushden, 142
Rutland, 44, 50, 60, 69, 76, 178, 184

S

Salisbury, 126
Sargant, A. J., 75
Scotland, 23–4, 27, 29, 37, 38, 65,
66, 74, 75, 80, 87, 94, 140, 145,
151, 159, 167, 168, 174, 176
Secondary schools, 155–9
Severn, R., 56, 60, 68, 72, 106–11,
127–9, 146, 148–9, 166, 181
Sheffield, 47, 56, 74, 76, 95, 96, 100,
101, 127, 151–3, 164–5, 176
Sheffield University, 156, 158
Shrewsbury, 111, 158
Shropshire, 37, 145–9, 177, 178, 181,
184
Simpson, E. S., 36
Smailes, A. E., 71
Soar, R., 60
Somerset, 47, 58, 116, 120, 127,
129–31, 164, 185

Southampton, 42, 47, 56, 71, 79,
120, 125, 131, 157, 164, 165, 176,
179, 180, 185
Southampton University, 156
Southport, 93
Staffordshire, 37, 43, 47, 60, 68, 90,
158, 164, 177–8, 185
Stamford, 44, 115, 158
Standard Regions, 34, 38, 39, 40, 85,
111
Steel industry, 76
Stockport, 47
Stoke-on-Trent, 92
Suffolk, 42, 47, 50, 69, 132–7, 179,
182, 185
Surrey, 42, 58, 69, 138–40, 165, 180,
185
Sussex, 42, 58, 121–6, 138–40, 160,
161, 179, 180, 182, 186
Sussex, University College, 157, 159
Swansea, University College, 159
Swindon, 142, 143

T

Technical schools, 155–9
Teesdale, 83–4
Tetbury, 131
Thames, R., 56, 58, 59
Town and Country Planning, 31–2
Towns, New, 54
Tramways, 26
Trent, R., 56, 60, 68, 76, 112–15, 166
Truro, 158
Tyneside, 41, 74, 75

U

Universities, 73, 76, 85, 155–9
Upland settlement, 53
Urban Districts, 30, 33, 34, 41, 48,
50, 162

V

Valley settlement, 52–4, 58, 60, 165

W

Wakefield, 105
 Wales, 23-4, 28, 29, 37, 38, 57, 60,
 61, 65, 66, 74, 94, 110, 129, 145-9,
 151, 159, 168, 174-6, 181, 184,
 186
 Wales University, 159
 Warminster, 122
 Warwickshire, 37, 43, 47, 60, 158,
 178, 180, 185
 Weardale, 83
 Wellingborough, 142
 Welsh language, 24, 145-6
 Wessex, *see under* Provinces, Wessex
 Westmorland, 49, 80, 82, 85, 86, 87,
 164, 165, 177, 185
 West Riding, 42, 47, 56, 74, 83, 90,
 102-5, 177-8, 185
 Weymouth, 158

Wight, Isle of, 42, 179, 186
 Wiltshire, 58, 128-9, 165, 179, 180,
 186
 Winchester, 126
 Worcester, 47
 Worcestershire, 37, 47, 60, 178, 180,
 186
 Workers' Educational Association,
 86
 Wye, R., 109-10, 129, 146, 149

Y

Yarmouth, Great,
see Great Yarmouth
 York, 47, 56, 57, 105, 158, 164, 177,
 185
 Yorkshire, 41-2, 47, 49, 54, 56, 60,
 68, 69, 72, 101-5, 151, 152-3, 158,
 161, 165, 174-8, 182, 184, 185

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